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Reading the golden calf episode in theological and critical perspective.

READING THE GOLDEN CALF EPISODE IN THEOLOGICAL AND CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

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Abstract

In this study the writer asks why the account of the golden calf incident in Deuteronomy differs from the account in Exodus.

After a detailed **comparison of the two parallel texts**, historical-critical accounts of the differences are evaluated, and alternative synchronic explanations are explored. After a review of **the history of study** of the two passages and an assessment of the relationship between the two accounts from the standpoint of **source-criticism**, the writer considers the question of which of the two versions is the earlier one.

An examination of the **genre** of the two accounts follows, and it is demonstrated that the differences between the texts are largely the result of differences in genre (narrative/sermon) rather than different sources and redactional layers. A detailed **discourse analysis** of the two versions then provides additional evidence to show in an objective manner that the writer was justified in emphasising the integrity of each of the texts. An examination of the **theological *Tendenz*** of the two accounts provides additional clues for the explanation of the variations between Exodus and Deuteronomy.

This study also takes the opportunity to consider **the relative merits** of the various approaches. Biblical scholarship is not an end in itself, and any method of study needs to show that it is fruitful for the Christian community as a whole.

In conclusion the differences between the two accounts are seen as differences in genre, and differences in theological emphasis. Assessing the value of the various approaches for the reader of the Old Testament, the writer concludes that when biblical scholarship concentrates on the theological aspects of the text, rather the peripheral issues such as textual history and linguistic analysis, it fulfils a more profitable role by providing material which can be used and appreciated by the whole Christian community.

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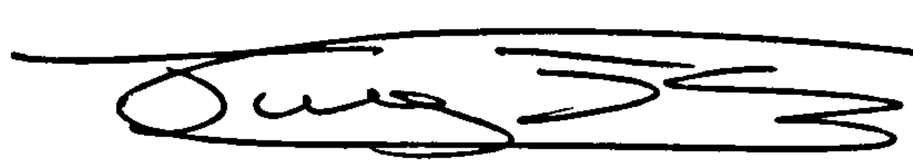
Author's Declaration

This dissertation and research study upon which it is based are my own work. The views expressed are my own, and not those of the university.

The dissertation has not been presented to any other University for examination either in the United Kingdom or overseas.

SIGNED:  **DATE:** 26 August 2000

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Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*
ABR	*Australian Biblical Review*
ACFEB	Association Catholique Française pour l'Étude de la Bible
AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
ANET	*Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*
ASORB	*American Schools of Oriental Research Bulletin.*
ASTIJ	*Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem*
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBR	*Bulletin for Biblical Research*
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (1907)
BI	*Biblical Interpretation*
BLS	Bible and Literature Series
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BO	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BR	*Biblical Review.*
BSC	Bible Student's Commentary.
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBC	The Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBET	Contribution to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBOTS	Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CI	*Critical Inquiry*
CJ	*Conservative Judaism*
DNEB	Die Neue Echter Bibel
EBC	*The Expositor's Bible Commentary*
CLTL	Cambridge Language Teaching Library
EHS	Europäische Hochschulschriften
EITY	*Ecumenical Institute Tantur Yearbook*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
ExpTim	*The Expository Times.*

FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, second edition, ed. E. Kautzsch, trans. A. E. Cowley (1910)
GHAT	Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
GTJ	*Grace Theological Journal*
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBT	*Horizons in Biblical Theology*
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HS	*Hebrew Studies*
HSAT	Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testamentes
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IB	*The Interpreter's Bible*
IBT	Interpreting Biblical Texts
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IDB	*Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IDBSup	Supplement volume to *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*.
ITC	International Theological Commentary
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JET	*Jahrbuch für Evangelikale Theologie*.
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JLT	*Journal of Literature and Theology*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*.
JTSA	*Journal of Theology for Southern Africa*.
KEHAT	Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
KHCAT	*Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament*
LA	*Literature and the Arts*
LBI	Library of Biblical Interpretation
LCBI	Literary Currents in Biblical Interpretation
LD	Lectio Divina
MT	Masoretic Text
NAC	The New American Commentary

NBC	*New Bible Commentary: 21st Century Edition*. Ed. by D. A. Carson, R. T. France, J. A. Motyer. G. J. Wenham. Downers Grove: IVP. 1994.
NCBC	The New Century Bible Commentary
NIB	*New Interpreter's Bible*
NIBC	New International Biblical Commentary
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDOTTE	*New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis*
NL	*Notes on Linguistics*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OTG	Old Testament Guides
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PC	The Pulpit Commentary
PCB	Peake's Commentary on the Bible
QRM	*Quarterly Review for Ministry*
RB	*Revue Biblique*
SB	Subsidia Biblica
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
SH	*Scripta Hierosolymitana*
SJOT	*Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament*
SJT	*Scottish Journal of Theology.*
SOTBT	Studies in Old Testament Biblical Theology
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
StBi	*Studies in Bible*
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
TB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TBC	Torch Bible Commentaries
TDOT	*Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*
THAT	*Theologisches Handwörterbuch zum Alten Testament* (Ed. by Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. Zwei Bände. München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag and Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1978, 1976.)
TheoLing	*Theoretical Linguistics*
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift.*
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TL	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TR	*Theologische Rundschau*

TSF	*Theological Students' Fellowship*
TSFNPL	*Theological Students Fellowship News and Prayer Letter.*
TWOT	*Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (Edited by R. Laird Harris, Gleason L. Archer, Jr., and Bruce K. Waltke. Chicago: Moody Press, 1980.)
TynB	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WC	Westminster Commentaries
WestBibCom	Westminster Bible Companion
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Althebraistik*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*

Conventions

The asterisk (*) used with a biblical passage indicates not the whole but a part belongs to the passage.

Unless otherwise marked, English translations of biblical texts are either taken from the NRSV or are the author's.

On a number of pages, the lower portion of the page is left blank, where a diagram might otherwise have been broken over the page at a point where the pattern of correspondences would not have remained as clear to the reader.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The episode of the golden calf, which takes a significant place in the history of Israel, appears twice in the Pentateuch: Exodus 32-34 and Deuteronomy 9-10. There appear various "pluses" or "minuses," distinguishing the two accounts, and even seemingly contradictory elements in the two versions. Various explanations of the differences between the two versions of the golden calf incident have been suggested. Many scholars have attempted to explain the differences by distinguishing different sources and/or redactions. In spite of many advantages, this kind of historical-critical approach usually falls short of dealing with the final form of the text as a whole and often does not give us the answers we are looking for. The purpose of the present study is to evaluate various critical accounts of the differences and to explore alternative explanations. This study will consider a variety of ways of reading, taking into account the ways in which the two versions of the story in Exodus and Deuteronomy differ, and seek to find what is the most appropriate and fruitful way of reading these two versions, bearing in mind the differences of content, context, emphasis and style.

This study began as a close reading of the two versions of the golden calf incident in Exodus and Deuteronomy, and the attempt to provide an explanation for the differences between them, taking seriously the final form of the texts. At the end of our study, it was hoped, it would emerge whether the differences (the pluses, minuses, and various other changes) could be explained from this reading, and whether a synchronic approach could explain the present form of the text adequately.

The plan was to study in turn what "source critics" have said about the two accounts, along with studies on the "genre," the contribution of "discourse analysis," and discussions of the "theological *Tendenz*" of the two versions. Other approaches could have been pursued, had time and space allowed, such as textual criticism, studies of the poetic fragments found in these chapters, or a fuller discussion of the *Sitz im Leben* of the two accounts. At the end of our study our aim was to explain why the accounts differ, without assenting to the often destructive and usually speculative methods of source criticism.

Although this has been fairly successful, at the end of this process we have also been able to comment on a more interesting and probably more worthwhile issue--the relative merits of the various approaches to the texts. How useful or beneficial is it to approach the text as a source-critic, compared with, for example, a traditional face-value

reading made by the intelligent man in the pew? What is gained by undertaking a study of genre? What are the benefits of carrying out a specific piece of detailed discourse analysis? How helpful is a comparative study of the theological *Tendenz* of two parallel passages of the Old Testament?

This immediately raises the issue of who is reading the text, or more complexly, on whose behalf is the reading carried out. In our view biblical scholarship is not an end in itself, though it has to be said that one might not guess this from some works of biblical scholarship. There has been a tendency for the academic world of biblical study to become detached from its roots and become entirely self-serving. However, it is our contention that biblical scholarship is intended to be of service to the greater community, not only in the dissemination of knowledge in a purist sense, but by being of use to the wider Christian community. In this case a proposed way of reading a biblical text has shown that it is fruitful for the Christian (or even Judeo-Christian) community as a whole, not simply a fascinating study for the specialist.

Our plan of study

> "In those days there was no king in Israel; all the people did what was right in their own eyes." The passage from the book of Judges seems a good description of the present state of pentateuchal study. Some scholars still adhere to the famous documentary hypothesis, or some modified form of it, although this approach, widely accepted over the last two hundred years, has been challenged from many sides, and its methodology and the results of such study are no longer as assured as they once appeared to be. The tendency to find ever more redactional layers from the text has made the issue intractable. Though many scholars have offered new approaches and solutions for the origin and composition of the Pentateuch in recent years, no theory has succeeded in accounting for all the problems.

Nicholson laments the present state of pentateuchal study by commenting that "it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that we seem to be little further on, if further on at all, than where Wellhausen left us over a century ago."[1] Having reviewed the recent trend of pentateuchal studies and criticised Whybray, Van Seters, and H. H. Schmid, Nicholson concludes that no one has been able to unravel the entangled compositional process of the Pentateuch, and he suggests going back to the Wellhausenian model.

> It means also that the composition of this source was a much more complex process than has often been assumed, so complex, indeed, that it is doubtful

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[1]E. W. Nicholson, "The Pentateuch in Recent Research: A Time for Caution" (1991), 10.

> whether we shall ever succeed in unravelling in any satisfactory manner the manifold stages through which it has grown. But if we have not run this problem into the ground, in my opinion a return to this older approach is a desideratum and should be placed firmly on the agenda for renewed consideration.[2]

However, we find no new arguments that compel us to return to the Wellhausenian model. The starting point of Wellhausen and his colleagues was to explain the unevenness of the text, since the text (say source critics) is rough at the edges, not uniform but composed of different sources and redactions which have not been fully integrated. Whether or not this is true, it may be argued that this approach serves only the historian. It may provide us with an explanation of how the text got to where it is now, but in our view this is not the key issue of interest to the Christian community. More is gained by applying our attention to the text as it stands, taking it on trust as a unity, and trying to understand its structure, and its particular message or intention.

New literary critical approaches, which were developed in the 1970s,[3] provide alternative ways of accounting for the unevenness of the text which is usually considered to be a sign of the existence of different sources and redactional layers. A number of scholars have applied this approach to the narrative of the golden calf episode in Exodus 32-34.[4] Among these studies Moberly's work is the most thorough and prominent.

We shall consider whether Moberly's synchronic analysis can provide a satisfactory explanation for the present form of the text without assuming a complex redactional history of the text. According to Ockham's razor "Do not multiply entities beyond necessity," Moberly's synchronic approach may well prove a more desirable method to be adopted. As our study will show, a more conclusive and profitable reading is one where synchronic readings of the text take precedence over diachronic approaches.

Moberly, however, has not dealt with Deuteronomy. We shall also apply a synchronic reading to the final form of the text of Deuteronomy 9-10* and attempt to explain the differences between the two versions. At the end of our study it will emerge

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[2]E. W. Nicholson (1991), 21. Cf. the completely different view of Rendtorff: "the question of the future of pentateuchal criticism ... is at the same time the question as to whether scholars can free themselves from the burden of the documentary hypothesis. Otherwise there will be no future in this field because they are unable to avoid repeating the old arguments again and again." R. Rendtorff, "The Future of Pentateuchal Criticism," *Henoch* 6 (1984): 3.

[3]J. Licht, *Storytelling in the Bible* (1978); S. Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible* (1989; in Hebrew in 1979); R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (1981); M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (1985).

[4]D. R. Davis, "Rebellion, Presence, and Covenant: A Study in Exodus 32-34," *WTJ* 44 (1982): 71-87; H. C. Brichto, "The Worship of the Golden Calf: A Literary Analysis of a Fable on Idolatry," *HUCA* 54 (1983): 1-44; R. W. L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983); D. E. Waring, *The Nature of Yahweh's Relationship with His People: A Literary Analysis of Exodus 32-34*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. (Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985), E. G. Newing, "Up and Down--In and Out: Moses on Mount Sinai: The Literary Unity of Exodus 32-34," *ABR* 41 (1993): 18-34.

whether the differences (pluses, minuses, and other changes) can be explained from this reading or not, which approach explains the present form of the text adequately, and which are the most profitable ways of reading the texts for the student of the Old Testament.

In Chapter 2 we study the two parallel texts passage by passage, and discuss all the additions, subtractions and other changes between the two versions. We evaluate the historical-critical accounts of the differences, explore alternative synchronic explanations and show the literary connections of each passage to its surrounding context and the integrity of each account.

In Chapter 3 we consider the history of study of the two passages, and continue to assess the relationship between Exodus 32-34* and Deuteronomy 9-10* from a source-critical standpoint, acknowledging incidentally the connection with Jeroboam's golden calves in 1 Kings 12. We take as an example of an issue of interest, the question of which of the two versions is the earlier one, mainly interacting with J. Van Seters's work, *The Life of Moses*.[5] He maintains the substantial integrity of the Exodus and Deuteronomy texts but argues for the literary dependence of Exodus on Deuteronomy. Through careful exegesis and comparative study of Exodus and Deuteronomy we shall reevaluate his arguments.

In Chapter 4 we examine the genre of the two accounts, and consider the relationship between genre and style. The evidence of different styles in these versions has often been interpreted as demonstrating the existence of different sources and redactional layers. After a discussion of genre theory we apply this method to the Exodus and Deuteronomy accounts and demonstrate that in our view the stylistic differences are largely dependent on differences in genre.

In Chapter 5 we apply recent text-linguistic theory to our texts and carry out a detailed discourse analysis of the two versions of the golden calf incident, using the methods of R. E. Longacre and D. A. Dawson to illuminate the structure of the two accounts.[6] Discourse analysis provides guidelines for detecting the structure of the text, which allow the reader to interpret the text not subjectively but on the basis of what is actually there. This study provides us with a further way of explaining the various textual problems that are usually considered to show the existence of various sources and redactional layers, and once again allow the reader to see the integrity of the text.

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[5]J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994).

[6]R. E. Longacre, *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989); D. A. Dawson, *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, JSOTS 177 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994).

In Chapter 6 we examine the theological *Tendenz* of the two accounts, and this provides additional crucial clues for the explanation of the variations in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

In the concluding chapter we discuss the results of our studies on the question of the differences between the two accounts, and assess the value of the various approaches for the student of the Old Testament.

Chapter 2

A Comparison of the Accounts of the Golden Calf in Exodus and Deuteronomy

2.1. Introduction

The episode of the golden calf occupies a significant place in the history of Israel. It appears twice in the Pentateuch: in Exodus 32-34 and in Deuteronomy 9-10.[1]

The differences between the two versions of the golden calf incident in Exodus 32 and Deuteronomy 9-10 have provoked much discussion, and since Wellhausen they have usually been explained historico-critically, i.e. in terms of source, redaction and traditio-historical criticism. Most scholars have seen more than one source in both Exodus and Deuteronomy, with a variety of later additions or redactional layers.

From Wellhausen (1885)[2] to Noth (1948),[3] Exodus 32 has been regarded as containing some of the oldest sources of the Pentateuch, with a mixture of later Deuteronomistic redactions or additions, but there has been no consensus on the precise extent of the earlier sources and/or the later redactions. The customary view of source critics is that Deuteronomy as a whole is later than and dependent on the J and E sources in Genesis-Numbers. As far as the golden calf incident is concerned, standard literary criticism makes the same assumption: that the narrative in Deuteronomy is dependent on the JE narrative in Exodus, and this is the view found, for example, in S. R. Driver's commentary of 1902.[4] However, because of the multiplicity of redactional levels found by some scholars in the Exodus text and the diversity of the proposals being made by different authors, it is no longer possible to claim simply that either the Exodus version or the Deuteronomy version is the older text.

J. Vermeylen, for example, reconstructs the original narrative of Exodus 32 on the assumption that the Deuteronomist used the base text of Exodus as his *Vorlage*, and

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[1]Brief references are also made to it in Ps. 106:19-20 and in Neh. 9:8. A further connection is often seen with the golden calves which Jeroboam I made in 1 Kgs. 12:26-33..

[2]Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*. Reprint of the edition of 1885 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994).

[3]Martin Noth, *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1972) [Translated with an Introduction by Bernhard W. Anderson from *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1948)].

[4]S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902), 112.

identifies four Deuteronomistic redactions dating between 585 and 525 B.C.[5] P. Weimar, on the other hand, identifies two Deuteronomistic redactions (DtrP and DtrN) and one Priestly redaction (Rp).[6] There is virtually no correspondence between the results of Vermeylen's studies and Weimar's.

J. Van Seters criticises both scholars for not paying enough attention to a comparative study of Jeroboam's calves in 1 Kings 12, and urges the consideration of that passage and Deuteronomy 9-10 when analysing Exodus 32.[7] According to Van Seters, the Yahwist constructed his golden calf episode in Exodus using Deuteronomy 9-10 and 1 Kings 12:25-33 as his sources, and this accords with his view that the Yahwist developed the themes of the covenant renewal and the divine presence further than the other two accounts.

Suzanne Boorer finds only two main levels of redaction within Deuteronomy 9-10, and consigns only 9:22-24 to a later level, which hardly concerns the golden calf incident itself. Her view is that most of the features in the earlier level "become understandable when seen in relation to Ex 32-34."[8] W. Johnstone, however, believes that the parallel materials between Exodus and Deuteronomy come from the same source. But then he argues that Deuteronomy provides the framework for the narrative in Exodus 24:12-34:35. He likens the relationship between the parallel accounts in Exodus and Deuteronomy to the relationship between the Deuteronomistic History and Chronicles.[9]

On the one hand, it is easy to find various "pluses" or "minuses," distinguishing the two accounts, and even seemingly contradictory elements in the two versions. On the other hand, the fact that Deuteronomy does not report the story in the same way as Exodus is not surprising. The setting of the episode and the way of telling the story are very different in the two books: Exodus reports the incident as a clear account of a sequence of events, whereas Deuteronomy recounts the same episode in parenetic sermon style. Not only the outer framework of Deuteronomy (Deut. 1-11 and 27-34) but also the legal sections of the book (Deut. 12-26) are widely accepted as a sermon: G. von Rad, for example, describes the legal sections as "preached law."[10] On the whole one can say that

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[5]See Jacques Vermeylen, "L'affaire du veau d'or (Ex 32-34): Une clé pour la »question deutéronomiste«?" *ZAW* 97 (1985): 1-23.

[6]See Peter Weimar, "Das Goldene Kalb: Redaktionskritische Erwägungen zu Ex 32," *BN* 38-39 (1987): 117-60.

[7]See J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses: The Yahwist as Historian in Exodus-Numbers* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994), 291-92.

[8]S. Boorer, *The Promise of the Land as Oath: A Key to the Formation of the Pentateuch*. BZAW 205 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 277f. For a list of scholars who advocate that Deut. 9-10 is later than, and literarily dependent on, Exod. 32-34, see S. Boorer (1992), 298, n. 206.

[9]W. Johnstone, *Exodus*. OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 77.

[10]G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy* (London: SCM Press, 1953), 15 [Originally published as *Deuteronomium-Studien*. FRLANT 58 (Göttingen, 1947)].

Exodus is more descriptive in its report of the incident, whereas Deuteronomy is more interpretative.

In the book of Exodus the people arrive at Sinai after the miraculous deliverance from Egyptian oppression (Exod. 19:1) and Yahweh makes a covenant with the people at Sinai (Exod. 19-24). Moses goes up the mountain to receive the tablets of the covenant and the instructions for the tabernacle, and this is the point at which the golden calf episode appears in the book.

In the book of Deuteronomy the same episode is recalled some forty years later when the people are on the verge of the promised land. The author seems to assume that his reader is already familiar with the story of the giving of the tablets as well as the golden calf incident, and for this reason Deuteronomy does not repeat the story in the same way as it is recounted in Exodus.

The first and most obvious difference between the two accounts is their length. In Exodus the story and its immediate context is related in 24:12-18, along with the whole of Exodus 32, a total of 42 verses, with the subsequent renewal of the covenant told in the course of Exodus 33 and 34. The Deuteronomy account is much shorter: Deuteronomy 9:8-29 is a mere 22 verses, with the covenant renewal told in 10:1-11.

2.1.1. The Exodus account

In Exodus the heart of the story of the golden calf is told in six fairly distinct sections:

We shall also include Exodus 24:12-18 in our discussion, for it provides a suitable introduction for the golden calf incident in Exodus. The immediate context of the story is that after the first giving of the covenant a theophany has been witnessed by Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu and seventy elders (24:1-11).

1) Exodus 24:12-18. Moses is told to go up the mountain to receive the stone tablets. The instructions for the ark and the tabernacle follow in chapters 25-31.

2) Exodus 32:1-6. On the plain, the people become restless without Moses and Aaron makes the golden calf. The people sacrifice offerings and celebrate a feast.

3) Exodus 32:7-14. On the mountain, Yahweh tells Moses what has been going on amongst the people. Yahweh threatens the severest judgement, but Moses intercedes on

the people's behalf, reminding Yahweh of his promises to the patriarchs. Yahweh relents.

4) Exodus 32:15-24. Moses descends the mountain with Joshua, sees the calf and the celebrations going on and throws down the tablets in a rage. He destroys the calf, and makes the people drink water containing its powdered remains. A conversation between Moses and Aaron follows, with Aaron trying to justify himself.

5) Exodus 32:25-29. A confrontation now takes place, the Levites rally to Moses and carry out a slaughter of those who failed to answer the rallying call "Who is for Yahweh?"

6) Exodus 32:30-35. Moses goes back up the mountain, and offers to bear the guilt of the people, but Yahweh says that only those who have sinned will be punished, and a plague falls on the people.

In the immediate context which follows in chapter 33, the people are told to move on (vv. 1-6), Moses sets a tent of meeting outside the camp in which he communes with Yahweh (vv. 7-11) and in verses 12-23 we hear some of their conversation. Moses expresses some of his worries and Yahweh reassures Moses that he will go with them on their journey.

In chapter 34, Yahweh renews the covenant and makes two new tablets of stone (vv. 1-5), there is another theophany (vv. 6-9), more promises (vv. 10-16) and a repetition of the laws of the covenant (vv. 17-26), which Moses writes down (vv. 27-28). Finally Moses descends the mountain, with his face radiant (vv. 29-35).

2.1.2. The Deuteronomy account

The story as told in Deuteronomy, is in three sections:

In the preceding context, in Deuteronomy 8 and in 9:1-6, Moses has been reminding the people that they are about to enter the promised land and that Yahweh will dispossess the land for them (9:4)--*in spite of* their failure to keep the covenant (9:5). The golden calf incident then follows as the perfect sermon illustration of how Israel has habitually failed to keep the covenant on their wilderness journey.

1) In Deuteronomy 9:7-14 Moses relates how he went up the mountain and received the stone tablets. He explains how he was told by Yahweh to go back down because of the people's corrupt behaviour and tells of Yahweh's threatened judgement.

2) In Deuteronomy 9:15-21 Moses tells how he went down the mountain, discovered the calf, broke the tablets, destroyed the calf, interceded with Yahweh and how Yahweh heard his prayer.

Further examples of the people's failure are quoted in Deuteronomy 9:22-24--Taberah, Maasah, Kibroth-ha-Taavah, and Kadesh Barnea.

3) Deuteronomy 9:25-29 continues with more details of Moses' intercession with Yahweh .

In the context which follows, in Deuteronomy 10:1-5, Moses relates how he went up the mountain again, after making new tablets and an ark to keep them in.

In Deuteronomy 10:6-9 he tells how the people travelled on, and how the Levites took on the role of carrying the ark.

Deuteronomy 10:10-11 again emphasizes Moses' role as mediator.

Neither Exodus nor Deuteronomy is concerned to reconstruct the historical events in full for their own sake but to draw lessons from them. Though all storytellings are selective in their dealing with materials, the narrative of the golden calf story in Exodus generally describes the event more fully than the story in Deuteronomy, where Moses summarizes the events in his sermon. As we shall see below, there are several seemingly vital parts of the story left out of the Deuteronomy version:[11]

i) the instructions for the tabernacle
ii) the people's request to Aaron to make אֱלֹהִים
iii) Moses' descent from the mountain with Joshua
iv) Moses' confrontation with Aaron
v) the judgement executed by the Levites.

The author of Deuteronomy rearranges the historical events in accordance with the purpose of his book, recapitulates past events and presents them so as to maximise the effect of the sermon, and from the way Moses (or the author) selects his material, we are able to see which points are being particularly stressed. Moses tends to make clear contrasts between the people and Yahweh.[12]

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[11]Of course, this does not mean that there are no additions to Exodus in Deuteronomy. There are some, though they are not pervasive in comparison to the quantity of Deuteronomy's subtractions from Exodus. The unusual nature of Deuteronomy's additional material alerts us to be more cautious with its interpretation.

[12]For example, a comparison of the account of the spies incident in Deuteronomy 1 with that in Numbers 13 clearly illustrates this point. In the spies story in Numbers 13 Moses takes the initiative in sending spies to the land of Canaan, but in Deuteronomy 1 Moses wants to emphasize the lack of faith on the part of the people, and so it is the people who ask Moses to send the spies, because of their fear and scepticism. In Deut. 1:21-22 Moses also explicitly mentions the hesitation of the people when Yahweh

In Deuteronomy 9-10 the point of comparison is not the events themselves but the agents who are responsible for these events--unfaithful Israel versus faithful Yahweh. The people may quickly change but Yahweh does not. Yahweh's faithfulness to his promise to the patriarchs is clearly reflected in both the making of the covenant and its renewal. While there appears to be no significant change in the nature of Yahweh between these two key events, there is a dramatic change on the part of Israel. The first covenant follows Yahweh's deliverance of the people from Egyptian bondage; its renewal is prompted by the disobedience of the people. The people's sinfulness brought the newly made covenant to an end, but paradoxically the same sins were the major reason for the renewal of the covenant.

In fact Deuteronomy seems to be more concerned with describing the renewal of the covenant than its first making. Whereas Exodus reports Yahweh's command to come up the mountain on the two occasions when the tablets were received (Exod. 24:12 and 34:2), Deuteronomy reports this only once, on the occasion of the renewal of the covenant (Deut. 10:1).

Moses' concern in Deuteronomy is not to reconstruct every detail of the incident but to draw lessons from it[13] for the benefit of the people who are on the verge of the promised land: how serious their sins (*or* their fathers' sins) were; how angry Yahweh was with them; and, most importantly, how should they respond from now on.

Since each book has a different purpose in including this story, it is clear that we will have to take into account the different genres and the difference in theological *Tendenz* of each book in any explanations of the differences between the two accounts of the golden calf episode in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

Before we are going to deal with all these issues, it is important to grasp the characteristics of the two versions of the golden calf episode in Exodus and Deuteronomy. So we are going to compare the similarities and differences of the two accounts in detail and, then, make an inventory of the main similarities and differences between the two versions for the basis of our comparative study.

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commanded the Israelites to possess the land. See J. G. Millar, "Living at the Place of Decision: Time and Place in the Framework of Deuteronomy," in *Time and Place in Deuteronomy* by J. G. McConville and J. G. Millar (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 26-28.

[13]This is also true for the Exodus narrative but with different purpose.

In this chapter we shall confine our comparison of the two accounts to Exodus 32 and Deuteronomy 9.[14] The reason for the omission of Exodus 33-34 and Deuteronomy 10 in our discussion is as follows. First of all, the comparison of the whole episode will take too much space, and so it would rather obscure the purpose of this chapter: to get a distinctive picture of the two accounts. Second, there appears to be no direct correspondence between Exodus 33 and Deuteronomy 9-10. Finally, the similarities and differences of the episode in Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 10 will be dealt with in our discussion of genre and theological *Tendenz* in detail (chs. 4 and 6). So in this chapter we shall focus on the first part of the golden calf episode only.

2.2. Comparative analysis

Exod. 24:12

Yahweh said to Moses, 'Come up to me on the mountain, and wait there; and I will give you the tablets of stone, with the law and the commandments, which I have written for their instruction.'

Yahweh's command to Moses to go up the mountain and Yahweh's promise of the giving of the tablets are missing in Deuteronomy. Moses begins the golden calf incident in Deuteronomy 9:9 without mentioning Yahweh's command. He succinctly recapitulates this episode without quoting Yahweh's promise [בַּעֲלֹתִי הָהָרָה לָקַחַת לוּחֹת הָאֲבָנִים לוּחֹת הַבְּרִית] (Deut. 9:9a), omits Yahweh's command ("come up and wait there") and promise ("then I will give you the tablets of stone") and simply recounts what happened at the top of the mountain.[15]

This does not seem to cause any problem to the people who were listening to Moses' sermon on the plains of Moab or to those who read the book of Deuteronomy. The omission of Yahweh's command simply indicates that the audience or the reader were already familiar with the story of the giving of the tablets and the incident of the golden calf as well.

The inclusion of Yahweh's command in Deuteronomy 10:1, in contrast to the omission in Deuteronomy 9:9, shows Deuteronomy's concern for the restoration of the covenant which was broken by the apostasy of the people and, consequently, highlights

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[14]We shall also include Exodus 24:12-18 in our discussion, for it provides suitable introduction for the golden calf incident in Exodus.

[15]The syntax and the meaning of Exodus 24:12b are much discussed. See, for e.g., B. S. Childs, *Exodus* (London: SCM Press, 1974), 499. The differences in the phrases which modify the tablets of stone (אֶת־לֻחֹת הָאֶבֶן וְהַתּוֹרָה וְהַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר כָּתַבְתִּי לְהוֹרֹתָם in Exod. 24:12 and לוּחֹת הָאֲבָנִים לוּחֹת הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר־כָּרַת יְהוָה עִמָּכֶם in Deut. 9:9) will be discussed below.

the grace and faithfulness of Yahweh. By including this command, Moses wants to emphasise the graciousness of Yahweh in renewing the covenant broken by the rebellious behaviour of the people.[16]

Exod. 24:13-14

13) So Moses set out with his assistant Joshua, and Moses went up into the mountain of God. 14) To the elders he had said 'Wait here for us, until we come to you again; for Aaron and Hur are with you; whoever has a dispute may go to them.'

Exodus describes the mountain as "the mountain of God" because that was where Yahweh's dwelling was. Moses was to come up the mountain into the presence of God--which is a key concern of Exodus.

The reference to Joshua, who goes part-way up the mountain with Moses in verse 13, and the detailed charge to the elders in verse 14, are both missing from the Deuteronomy account. Most commentators view this in terms of different sources, later additions or redactions, without reaching a general consensus. However, it should be noticed that Joshua, the elders and Aaron play an important role in the development of the golden calf narrative in Exodus and in the structure of Exodus 24-40. Thus it seems to be more desirable to explain this difference between the texts in terms of narrative devices and in the larger context of the Sinai narrative.

Not only Exodus 24:13-14, but also all the passages where Joshua and Aaron are referred to, are missing in Deuteronomy.[17] The appearance of Joshua in Exodus 24:13 plays a significant role in the subsequent narratives in Exodus 32-34, and is needed to prepare us for the story of how Moses descended the mountain (with Joshua) in Exodus 32:17-18, and the role of Joshua in the tent of meeting in 33:11. Without the account of Moses' ascent with Joshua in Exodus 24:13, the audience or reader would be puzzled.[18]

The charges which Moses makes to the elders and Aaron in 24:14 also play a significant role in the larger context of the Sinai narrative. Moses' instructions to the elders and Aaron in 24:14 prepare the ground for the next stage of the story, in particular the way Aaron handles the people's demand for the making of אֱלֹהִים in 32:1-6 and the way Moses accuses Aaron in 32:21-24.[19] Although in Exodus 32:1-6 it is the people who ask Aaron to make אֱלֹהִים, Exodus emphasizes Aaron's responsibility in complying with

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[16]For further explanation, see our discussion on the genre and theological *Tendenz* in the subsequent chapters.

[17]Deuteronomy, however, reports Moses' intercession for Aaron, but this prayer is not mentioned in Exodus. See below our discussion on Deut. 9:20 for this issue.

[18]The inclusion also helps to prepare in a general way for Joshua as the successor to Moses.

[19]Hur is also mentioned with Aaron in 24:14 but never appears again in Exodus 32-34. The reason for the absence of Hur in the following narrative is not clear. For various explanations, see John C. Holbert, "A New Literary Reading of Exodus 32, the Story of the golden calf," *QRM* 10 (1990): 46-68.

the people's wishes and allowing the people's idolatrous worship. Moses' charges to Aaron in 24:14, Aaron's leading role in the apostasy (32:1-6), and Aaron's disgraceful pretext (32:21-24) are all linked and are designed to provide a striking contrast between a true leader (Moses) and a false one (Aaron), though this is a subsidiary theme within the narrative.

Moses' concern in Deuteronomy is not to reconstruct every detail of the incident but to draw lessons from it--the seriousness of the sin of the people, the anger of Yahweh and how should they respond from now on. The introduction of Joshua at this point would only distract from the focus of Deuteronomy.

Exod. 24:15-18	Deuteronomy 9:9
Then Moses went up on the mountain, and the cloud covered the mountain. The glory of the Lord settled on Mount Sinai, and the cloud covered it for six days; on the seventh day he called to Moses out of the cloud. Now the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a devouring fire on the top of the mountain in the sight of the people of Israel. Moses entered the cloud, and went up on the mountain. Moses was on the mountain for forty days and forty nights.	*When I went up the mountain to receive the stone tablets, the tablets of the covenant that Yahweh made with you, I remained on the mountain for forty days and forty nights; I neither ate bread nor drank water.*

Moses' ascent of the mountain appears several times in the Exodus account, whereas Deuteronomy summarises Moses' ascent to the mountain in one phrase.[20]

Exodus 24:15-18 describes the cloud/fire theophany in almost repetitive detail, whereas a description of this theophany is missing at this point in Deuteronomy. The following theophanic expressions may be noted in Exodus:

1) the cloud covered the mountain (24:15).
2) the glory of Yahweh settled on the mountain,
   and the cloud covered it for six days (24:16a).
3) He called to Moses in the midst of the cloud (24:16b).
4) the glory of Yahweh was like a consuming fire (24:17).
5) Moses entered the cloud (*lit.*, in the midst of the cloud) (24:18).

Exodus demonstrates its concern for the "presence of God" theme here, by slowing down the story line and by devoting considerable space to the preparation of the theophany and the theophanic scene itself. As Westermann remarks, the sight of this glory authenticates "all that Yahweh was saying and giving in that special place, at that special time, to, and so through, his special intermediary, Moses."[21] While Moses is at

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[20]The word עלה occurs four times in Exod. 24:12-18, whereas עלה occurs only once in Deut. 9:9.

[21]C. Westermann, "Die Herrlichkeit Gottes in der Priesterschrift," in *Wort-Gebot-Glaube: Beiträge zur Theologie des Alten Testaments*, ATANT 59 (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1970), 227-49; quoted from J. I. Durham, *Exodus* (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 346.

the top of the mountain, receiving the tablets and the tabernacle instructions, the display of the mountain on fire enables the people to experience "a continuation of the awesome theophany narrated in Exodus 19 and 20."[22]

The description of cloud/fire theophany also plays an important role from a literary perspective in the book of Exodus. Some scholars have suggested that the "cloud" [עָנָן] and the "glory" [כָּבוֹד] theophany in 24:15-18 and the theophany account in Exodus 40:34-38 form an inclusio, and have pointed out that these two theophanic accounts envelop the instructions for the making of the tabernacle (Exod. 25-31), the golden calf incident (Exod. 32-34) and the actual building of the tabernacle (Exod. 35-40).[23]

Deuteronomy does not report the cloud/fire theophany described in Exodus 24 but briefly reminds the people/reader in Deuteronomy 9:10 of the earlier fire theophany of Exodus 19-20: "all the words that Yahweh has spoken to you at the mountain in the midst of the fire on the day of the assembly [עִמָּכֶם בָּהָר מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ בְּיוֹם הַקָּהָל]" (Deut. 9:10). Deuteronomy's virtual omission of the theophany in Exodus 24 is usually understood by historical critical scholars to show that the theophany in Exodus was a late P addition which Deuteronomy did not know.[24] The tendency to attribute to a later hand words or passages which do not appear in a parallel text, does not necessarily help to solve any problems but may make matters more complicated.[25] If we take the final form of the text seriously, this kind of approach does not provide an adequate answer for the omissions by Deuteronomy.

Although Deuteronomy does not report the cloud/fire theophany at the beginning of the sermon, later on we find that Moses (or the writer of Deuteronomy) shows his acquaintance with the fire theophany in 9:15 when he reminds the people that the fire theophany still continued even while Moses was going down the mountain after the people's apostasy:

> So I turned and came down from the mountain while the mountain was burning with fire, and the two tablets of the covenant were in my two hands (Deut. 9:15).

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[22]J. I. Durham (1987), 346.

[23]W. Johnstone (1990: 49) comments: "As the mountain is the place where Yahweh descended in his theophanic cloud, so in the cloud his glory fills the tabernacle (40:34ff.)." Johnstone (1990: 47) regards theophany as the central theme of Exodus. See also J. I. Durham (1987), 346.

[24]J. Hahn, *Das »Goldene Kalb«: Die Jahwe-Verehrung bei Stierbildern in Geschichte Israels*. EHS 154, 2d. ed. (Frankfurt/Main, Berlin, New York, and Paris: Peter Lang, 1987), 236: "the comparison between Deut. 9:9-10 and Exod. 24:12-31:18 shows that Exod. 24-31 were available to the author of the Deut.-verses without the P additions, i.e., Exod. 24:15b-18a; 25:1-31:18* had not yet broken the original connection of Exod. 24:15a, 18b and 31:18*" (translation mine): cf. also S. R. Driver (1902), 113: "Ex. 24:12-14, 18b (from *and he went up*) belong closely to Ex. 31:18b, '[and J. gave him] the tables of stone,' &c., forming a continuous narrative of E: the intermediate passage, Ex. 24:15-18a; 31:18b (to *testimony*) belong to P, and are not referred to in Deut."

[25]For example S. Lehming recognises twelve different redactional layers in Exod. 32. See Sigo Lehming "Versuch zu Ex. XXXII," *VT* 10 (1960): 16-50.

By referring to the blazing mountain Moses makes the impatience of the people inexcusable. As long as the mountain was burning with fire, the people should not have been irritated by the long absence of their leader. They should have realised that Moses was on the mountain with God. But in spite of the clear evidence of something going on at the top of the mountain, the people rebelled against Moses and, by implication, against Yahweh. By placing this visible presence of Yahweh immediately after the people's apostasy instead of at the beginning of the sermon,[26] the author of Deuteronomy shows that the people's failure to keep the first two commandments of the Decalogue was inexcusable.

Exod. 25:1-31:17

The instructions for the media of worship (Exod. 25:1-31:17) do not appear in Deuteronomy. The usual explanation for the omission of the whole section on the tabernacle instructions is that this material is a later insertion by P. Most source critics explain the omission of the tabernacle section by assuming that Deuteronomy did not know the P material.[27] However, Yahweh's command to make the ark in Deuteronomy 10:1, suggests that the author of Deuteronomy did know the P material. Some scholars defend their position by arguing that the references to the ark in Deuteronomy 10:1, 2 and 5 are later insertions by the hand of the final Deuteronomistic redactor, while others argue that the ark mentioned in Deuteronomy 10:1 is primitive and different from the ark with the mercy seat described in Exodus 25:10 ff.[28]

However, an alternative explanation can be found in terms of literary strategy and the function of the passages in their larger contexts. As we have already seen, the instructions for the tabernacle (Exod. 25-31) and the implementation of these instructions (Exod. 35-40) envelop the golden calf narrative (Exod. 32-34), forming a large chiastic structure in the centre of which the golden calf narrative appears--an incident which poses an immediate and dramatic threat to Yahweh's promise to dwell among his people. Consequently this literary structure powerfully reminds the reader that, in spite of rebellious apostasy, Yahweh's promise to dwell among his people will be fulfilled and

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[26]J. Hahn (1987: 240) believes that the description of Moses' descent from the mountain in Exodus 32:15 is not dependent on Deuteronomy 9:15, because the phrase ההר בער באש in Deut. 9:15aβ does not appear in the parallel Exodus text. On the other hand, Hahn attributes Exod. 32:15b, 16 (the description of the tablets), which has no parallel in Deut. 9, to a later addition by P. We cannot determine the dependence or relationship of the texts simply by comparing a few phrases from the parallel texts. In most cases we should take into account the larger context of the book, or sometimes even the whole book.

[27]See, for e.g., J. Hahn (1987), 236f; S. Boorer (1992), 203.

[28]Johnstone argues that the final form of Exodus was composed after the completion of Deuteronomy. According to Johnstone (1990: 77), the final redactor of Exodus (P) "suppressed" the account on the construction of the ark in Deuteronomy 10:1-3 and added other elements in Exodus 34:1-4, since P "gives it full coverage elsewhere (Exod. 25:10ff.; 37:1ff.)."

Exodus 35-40 functions as a guarantee of the covenant renewal between Yahweh and Israel.

Exod. 31:18	Deut. 9:10, 11
When he had finished speaking with Moses on Mount Sinai, he gave him the tablets of the testimony, tablets of stone, written with the finger of God.	*And Yahweh gave me the two stone tablets written with the finger of God; and on them were all the words that Yahweh had spoken to you at the mountain out of the fire on the day of the assembly. At the end of forty days and forty nights Yahweh gave me the two stone tablets, the tablets of the covenant.*

Exodus 31:18 provides a transition between the tabernacle instructions of Exodus 24:12-31:17 and the events of 32:1-6. It is not clear that whether 31:18 should be regarded as belonging to the preceding or the following section. Most commentators see Exodus 31:18 as the concluding comment of the tabernacle section 25:1-31:17. However, the Masoretic Text suggests that we read it as the opening verse of the new section and places it at the beginning of the golden calf story. Johnstone is the only scholar who argues in favour of the division of the Masoretic Text.[29]

The phrase "when he had finished speaking with him on Mount Sinai" in Exodus 31:18 does not appear in Deuteronomy and is usually regarded as a later addition by P. Many scholars believe that a later redactor(s) added this phrase to refocus the reader after the whole complex of tabernacle instructions in Exodus 25-31 and to secure the connection with what follows.[30]

The temporal expression "at the end of forty days and forty nights" in Deuteronomy 9:11a is best regarded as an expression corresponding to "when he had finished speaking with him" in Exodus 31:18a. The two expressions convey more or less the same idea to the hearer/reader. The Exodus expression, "when he had finished speaking with him," is appropriate after Yahweh's long instructions for the tabernacle, providing a sense of the completion after Yahweh's revelation on the subject of the tabernacle.

The expression "forty days and forty nights" occurs only twice in the Exodus account, whereas the same expression appears five times in Deuteronomy 9-10* (Exod. 24:18; 34:28; Deut. 9:9, 11, 18, 25; 10:10). In Exodus the expression "forty days and forty nights" seems to be closely related to the giving of the tablets, and the expression marks the beginning of Moses' stay on the mountain (24:18) and the end of Moses' stay on the mountain (34:28) and serves as *inclusio* bracketing the whole narrative, i.e.,

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[29]W. Johnstone (1990), 12, 49. See further our discussion on this matter in ch. 5.

[30]E.g., J. Hahn (1987), 237; T. B. Dozeman, *God on the Mountain: A Study of Redaction, Theology and Canon in Exodus 19-24*, SBLMS 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 116.

Yahweh's instructions on the tabernacle (Exod. 25-31), the people's apostasy (32:1-6), Moses' response to the apostasy (32:7-33:23), and the renewal of the covenant (34:1-26).[31] This can be shown as follows:

A At the foot of the mountain (24:12-17)
B Beginning of Moses' stay on the mountain marked by the expression "forty days and forty nights" (24:18)
C Instructions on the tabernacle (25:1-31:18)
D Breaking of the covenant (32:1-6)
E Moses' response to the apostasy and intercessions (32:7-33:23)
D' Renewal of the covenant (34:1-10)
C' Covenant stipulations (34:11-26)
B' End of Moses' stay on the mountain marked by the expression "forty days and forty nights" (34:27-28)
A' At the foot of the mountain (34:29-35).

In other words the narrator seems to reserve the expression "forty days and forty nights" for the delimitation of the narrative sections, and here uses the adverbial phrase [כְּכַלֹּתוֹ לְדַבֵּר אִתּוֹ בְּהַר סִינָי] instead of specifying the exact length of the period.[32]

By placing the expression וַיְהִי מִקֵּץ אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לָיְלָה (Deut. 9:11) at the beginning of the account of the golden calf incident, Moses emphasizes that the people broke the covenant on the very day that the tablets of the covenant were given. Moses' intimate and sober communion with God during this period is in sharp contrast with the people's indulgent apostasy. This expression might also remind the people of the rebellious incident at Kadesh Barnea which was the cause of Israel's forty years wandering in the wilderness. Just as the people broke the covenant at Horeb as soon as it had been ratified, so the people acted rebelliously against Yahweh on the very threshold of the fulfilment of Yahweh's promise to the patriarchs--after "forty days" spying out the promised land. Now at the end of the forty years wilderness wandering Moses reminds the people of what happened at the end of forty days and forty nights at Horeb.[33]

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[31]We have shown above (p. 15) that the two theophany accounts in Exod. 24:15-18 and 40:34-38 form an inclusio, enveloping the instructions about the media of worship (chs. 25-31) and the construction of the media of worship (chs. 35-40) with the golden calf incident (chs. 32-34) in their centre. At first glance the large chiastic structure of Exod. 24:15-40:38 seems to be incompatible with the smaller chiastic structure in Exod. 24:12-34:35, for their centres do not coincide. We, however, could argue that the larger structure may have several sub-structures and, consequently, the centres of each sub-structures need not necessarily to coincide with the centre of the larger structure.

[32]The expression "forty days and forty nights" is repeatedly used in Deuteronomy, and according to Lohfink the golden calf incident in Deuteronomy 9:9-10:11 can be divided into five sections using references to "forty days and forty nights": the covenant making (9:9-10); the breaking of the covenant (9:11-17); the measures taken to atone for breach of covenant (9:18-21); the renewal of the covenant (9:25-10:5); and the consequences of the renewal (10:10-11). N. Lohfink, *Das Hauptgebot: Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5-11*, AnBib 20 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1963), 207ff.

[33]The number "forty" is often related to Yahweh's judgment in the Old Testament. Cf. Gen. 7:17; 8:6 in the Flood narrative and Jonah 3:4.

In Exodus the tablets are called "the two tablets of the testimony" [שְׁנֵי לֻחֹת הָעֵדֻת],[34] whereas Deuteronomy uses the term "the tablets of the covenant" [לֻחוֹת הַבְּרִית] (Deut. 9:11). The phrase לֻחֹת הָעֵדֻת in Exodus 31:18 (and also in 32:15 and 34:29) is usually regarded as P terminology, added later[35] as an equivalent to Deuteronomy's "tablets of the covenant."[36] But it is difficult to be sure which came first.

Exod. 32:1-6

1) When the people saw that Moses delayed to come down from the mountain, the people gathered around Aaron and said to him, 'Come let us make gods for us, who shall go before us; as for this Moses, the man who brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him.' 2) Aaron said to them, 'Take off the gold rings that are on the ears of your wives, your sons and your daughters, and bring them to me.' 3) So all the people took off the gold rings from their ears, and brought them to Aaron. 4) He took the gold from them, formed it in a mould, and cast an image of a calf; and they said , 'These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt!' 5) When Aaron saw this, he built an altar before it; and Aaron made proclamation and said, 'Tomorrow shall be a festival to Yahweh.' 6) They rose the next day, and offered burnt-offerings and brought sacrifices of well-being; and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to revel.

This detailed description of the apostasy is missing in Deuteronomy; the people's impatient request, Aaron's making of the calf, the people's offerings and the sacrifice, and their behaviour before the calf are all missing in Deuteronomy.

Exodus 32:1-6 is sometimes considered to be rather loosely connected to its context. But Childs has rightly pointed out the close connection between Exodus 32:1-6 and the following verses.[37] We may observe that the description of the people's apostasy in 32:1-6 presents a striking contrast to the account of the covenant ceremony in Exodus 24 and this contrast suggests a close connection between them. In Exodus 24, Moses rises early [וַיַּשְׁכֵּם], builds an altar [וַיִּבֶן מִזְבֵּחַ], and the people offer burnt offerings [וַיַּעֲלוּ עֹלֹת] and peace offerings [וַיִּזְבְּחוּ זְבָחִים שְׁלָמִים] to Yahweh, whereas in Exodus 32 Aaron builds an altar and the people rise early in the morning and offer the same sacrifices (cf. Exod. 24:4-5 with 32:5-6a).[38] In Exodus 24 the people eat and drink [וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ] before Yahweh, whereas in Exodus 32 they eat and drink before the calf (cf. 24:11 with

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[34]Cf. also Exod. 32:15a; Deut. 9:15. עֵדוּת occurs eighteen times in Exodus (16:34; 25:22; 26:33; 27:21; 30:6, 26, 36; 31:7, 18; 32:15; 34:29; 38:21; 39:35; 40:3, 5, 21), twice in Leviticus (16:13; 24:3), twelve times in Numbers (1:50, 53 [x2]; 4:5; 7:89; 9:15; 10:11; 17:19, 22, 23, 25; 18:2), but not at all in Deuteronomy.

[35]W. Johnstone (1990), 77.

[36]The expression of the "covenant which Yahweh has made with you" occurs many times in Deuteronomy (5:2, 3; 28:69; 29:11, 13, 24; 31:16). Cf. 1 Kgs. 8:9, 21; 2 Kgs. 17:25, 38. Cf. also Deut. 28:69). See J. Hahn (1987), 237.

[37]B. S. Childs (1974), 558-59.

[38]D. E. Waring, *The Nature of Yahweh's Relationship with His People: A Literary Analysis of Exodus 32-34*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985), 74: "It is noteworthy that the only times the words burnt offerings (עלה) and peace offerings (שלמים) occur together in the book of Exodus are in 20:24; 24:5; and 32:6."

32:6b).[39] The following table clearly demonstrates striking resemblances between the covenant making in Exodus 24 and the covenant breaking in Exodus 32:1-6.

Exod. 32		Exod. 24
וַיַּשְׁכִּימוּ מִמָּחֳרָת	v. 6	וַיַּשְׁכֵּם בַּבֹּקֶר v. 4
וַיִּבֶן מִזְבֵּחַ לְפָנָיו	v. 5	וַיִּבֶן מִזְבֵּחַ תַּחַת הָהָר v. 4
וַיַּעֲלוּ עלת וַיִּגְּשׁוּ שְׁלָמִים	v. 6	וַיַּעֲלוּ עלת וַיִּזְבְּחוּ זְבָחִים שְׁלָמִים לַיהוָה פָּרִים v. 5
לֶאֱכֹל וְשָׁתוֹ וַיָּקֻמוּ לְצַחֵק	v. 6	וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ v. 11

The people's double promise to do and obey all the words of Yahweh (Exod. 24:3, 7) obviously sets up a contrast between legitimate (Exod. 24) and illegitimate worship (Exod. 32),[40] indicating a closer connection between Exodus 24 and 32:1-6 than some authors claim.

Like other parts of the story some scholars think that Exodus 32:1-6 is a later addition and that the author of Deuteronomy did not know this material. In the light of the almost identical quotation of Yahweh's speech from Exodus 32:7-8a in Deuteronomy 9:12, it seems improbable that the author of Deuteronomy did not know the story narrated in Exodus 32:1-6.

Hyatt argues that Exodus 32:1-6 was influenced by the account of Jeroboam's making of the calf at Bethel and Dan.[41] The reason for this belief is twofold. Firstly, the virtually identical expression in Exodus 32:4b and 1 Kings 12:28b; secondly, the phrase "your gods, O Israel" is appropriate to the time of Jeroboam but not to that of Aaron who made only one calf. Hyatt thinks this narrative originated from the time of Hosea who "condemned the worship of the bulls of Dan and Bethel as idolatry and apostasy from Yahweh (Hos. 8:5f., 11; 10:5f.; 13:2)." Hyatt also regards Exodus 32:21-24 as an attempt to rehabilitate Aaron.[42] However, Bailey argues against this view, pointing out that the plural אלה אלהיך is no more appropriate for Jeroboam than for Aaron, since there was only one calf at each sanctuary (either Dan or Bethel).[43] Waring also disagrees with the

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[39]Cf. also וַיִּרְאוּ אֵת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in Exod. 24:10 with וַיַּרְא אַהֲרֹן in Exod. 32:5.

[40]See D. E. Waring (1985), 74; E. Blum, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*. BZAW 189 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990), 54; idem, "Israël à la montagne de Dieu: Remarques sur Ex 19-24; 32-34 et sur le contexte littéraire et historique de sa composition." In *Le Pentateuque en question: Les origines et la composition des cinq premiers livres de la Bible à la lumière des recherches récentes*, edited by Albert de Pury. Second edition (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1991), 275.

[41]J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus*, NCBC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971), 302. Hyatt follows M. Newman's reconstruction in *The People of the Covenant* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1962), 182-83.

[42]Cf. also M. Noth, *Exodus* (London: SCM, 1962), 246; idem, (1972), 142-43; J. Gray, *I and II Kings*, OTL (London: SCM, 1964), 316.

[43]L. R. Bailey, "The Golden Calf," *HUCA* 42 (1971), 97. Cf. also B. Peckham, "The Composition of Deuteronomy 9:1-10:11," in *Word and Spirit: Essays in Honor of D. M. Stanley on his 60th Birthday*, edited by J. Plevnik (Willowdale, Ont.: Regis College Press, 1975), 25.

view that the golden calf story in Exodus was created later and was inserted to disallow the apostate practices of Jeroboam. Although she admits a traditio-critical perspective as one possible legitimate explanation, Waring wants to see the story in Exodus 32:1-6 "as being based on an existing story."[44] Why there is a plural pronoun here is somewhat of a mystery.[45] It is worth noting that in the Nehemiah version of the story the pronoun is singular (Neh. 9:18).

If the author of Deuteronomy knew the account in Exodus 32:1-6, the omission of Exodus 32:1-6 in Deuteronomy should be explained from different perspective. We find here two fundamentally different ways of telling the story. In Exodus the story is told by the narrator in the third person form, whereas in Deuteronomy Moses tells the story in the first person. In Exodus the story is always told from the narrator's viewpoint, which enables him to use frequent changes of scene from the reader's viewpoint, for example from the valley to the top of the mountain, and back to the valley again. In contrast to this, there are no changes of viewpoint in Deuteronomy. Throughout the sermon Moses recounts the past events purely from his own point of view. Unlike the omniscient narrator in Exodus, Moses does not recount what was going on at the foot of the mountain while he was on the mountain.[46] We may conclude the omission of the details of Exodus 32:1-6 from Deuteronomy need not derive from Deuteronomy's ignorance of the events.

Exod. 32:7	Deuteronomy 9:12a
Yahweh said to Moses, 'Go down at once! Your people, whom you brought up out of the land of Egypt have acted perversely;	*Then Yahweh said to me, 'get up, go down quickly from here, for your people whom you have brought from Egypt have acted corruptly.*

The Hebrew texts reveal more clearly the differences between the two versions as seen below.

Exod. 32:7	Deut. 9:12a
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה לֶךְ־רֵד כִּי שִׁחֵת עַמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלִיתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם:	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי קוּם רֵד מַהֵר מִזֶּה כִּי שִׁחֵת עַמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם

[44]D. E. Waring (1985), 67. Waring, however, admits a polemical shaping of the existing text. But Moberly "seriously questions whether there is any polemic evidenced in the text." See R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 170-71.

[45]R. W. L. Moberly (1983: 163) suggests that a plural verb after אֱלֹהִים could convey "a pagan understanding of God, which is best rendered in English by 'god,' and that this is the likely significance of the plural form" in Exod. 32.

[46]Cf. J. Hahn (1987), 238.

There are several differences of vocabulary between Exodus 32:7 and Deuteronomy 9:12, for example Exodus and Deuteronomy use different words דבר and אמר respectively for the expression "Yahweh *said* to Moses/me," but it is hard to read any significance into this.

In Exodus Yahweh commands Moses to go down with the double imperative לֶךְ־רֵד, whereas Deuteronomy uses different vocabulary for the first imperative קוּם רֵד. These two expressions, however, have virtually the same meaning in Hebrew. When the imperatives of הלך or קום precede a second imperative by asyndeton (i.e., without copula), the imperatives לְכוּ/לֵךְ and קוּמוּ/קוּם are for the most part equivalent to the sense of interjections or exclamation, and function as an introduction of exhortation.[47]

The word מַהֵר occurs twice in Deuteronomy 9:12: "Arise, go down *quickly from this* [מַהֵר מִזֶּה]"; "they turned aside *quickly from the way* [מַהֵר מִן־הַדֶּרֶךְ]." On the other hand, the word מַהֵר occurs only once in Exodus 32:8 for the description of the people's apostasy. Deuteronomy adds an expression "quickly from here" [מַהֵר מִזֶּה]. The adverb מַהֵר, "quickly" is grammatically the Piel infinitive absolute of מהר (the root meaning, "to hasten") and is always used immediately after the main verb.[48]

Only recently the people had promised repeatedly not to worship idols before and after the making of the covenant (cf. Exod. 20:3-5; 24:3) and now, a short while afterwards, they have broken their promise. Deuteronomy deliberately contrasts the rapid apostasy of the people with the urgency of its remedy (Deut. 9:12a).[49] The addition of מַהֵר is most probably stylistic in the context of parenetic speech. Moses rhetorically

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[47]See N. Winther-Nielsen, *A Functional Discourse Grammar of Joshua: A Computer-assisted Rhetorical Structure Analysis*, CBOTS 40 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1995), 271: The word קום in the expression קֻם קַדֵּשׁ אֶת־הָעָם ("Stand up, sanctify the people") (Josh. 7:13a) "has the sense 'start to' in contrast to the sense 'arise' " in Josh. 7:10b. Cf. also F. I. Andersen, *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (The Hague, Paris and New York: Mouton, 1980), 56-57.

[48]BDB, 555. Weinfeld translates this word "at once" and believes that because of Yahweh's command to hurry, Moses did not intercede for the people before his descent from the mountain. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11*. AB (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 409: "This does not leave time for intercession, in contrast to Exod 32:11-14, where Moses intercedes before descending." It does not seem, however, that Moses delayed his prayer until his second ascent to the mountain. This contradicts not only Exodus 32:11-14 but also Weinfeld's own exposition of Deuteronomy 9:18. Later, commenting on 9:18, Weinfeld acknowledges that Moses prayed before he descended the mountain. See M. Weinfeld (1991), 411.

[49]An examination of the use of the word מַהֵר in Deuteronomy supports this view. מַהֵר occurs eight times in Deuteronomy: 4:26; 7:4, 22; 9:3, 12 (x2), 16; 28:20. Deut. 4:25ff. warns that if the Israelites fall into idolatry after the conquest of the land they *will surely perish quickly* [אָבֹד תֹּאבֵדוּן מָהֵר]. Here the certainty and the rapidity of the peril of the people are stressed. The comparison of Deut. 7:22 with 9:3 sheds more light on the meaning of this word. Deuteronomy 7:22 reads that "Yahweh your God will clear away these nations before you *little by little* [מְעַט מְעָט], *you will not be able to put an end to them quickly*" [לֹא תוּכַל כַּלֹּתָם מַהֵר]. Here the conquest of the land is described as a gradual process [מְעַט מְעָט] rather than an immediate consummation. In Deut. 9:3, however, the conquest is described as a rapid process: "so that you may destroy them quickly" [וְהַאֲבַדְתָּם מַהֵר]. The comparison of these verses suggests that מַהֵר is to be understood in a relative sense. Cf. J. Ridderbos, *Deuteronomy*, BSC (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984), 131.

stresses the hastiness of the people's sin and the urgent need of intercession and dealing with the sin.

In Exodus Yahweh describes the people to Moses as "your people, whom you brought up from the land of Egypt [עַמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלִיתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם] have become corrupt," whereas in Deuteronomy Moses replaces the word עלה with יצא: "your people whom you brought out of Egypt [עַמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרָיִם] have corrupted." Exodus uses the Hiphil of עלה for the deliverance formula, whereas Deuteronomy uses the Hiphil of יצא.

The deliverance formula with the verb "bring up" (the Hiphil of עלה), "who brought you/us (or whom you brought) up from the land of Egypt" [אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלִיתָ/הֶעֱלָנוּ/הָעֹלֶךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם], occurs six times in Exodus 32-34 (32:1, 4, 7, 8, 23; 33:1).

זֶה מֹשֶׁה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלָנוּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם	Exod. 32:1b, 23b
אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלוּךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם	Exod. 32:4b, 8b
עַמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלִיתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם	Exod. 32:7b; 33:1

In Exodus 32-34 Moses himself never uses the deliverance formula with the verb העלה. All of these formulas attribute the deliverance to someone other than Yahweh. Of the six occurrences, Moses is the subject in Exodus 32:1, 7, 23 and 33:1, and the אלהים ("gods") are the subject in Exodus 32:4 and 8. In Exod. 32:1b Moses is described as the one who brought the people from Egypt, while the proclamation before the calf states that the אלהים ("gods") are responsible for their deliverance (32:4b). In Exodus 32:8b, Yahweh quotes the people's blasphemous deliverance formula in verbatim (cf. 32:4): "These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt." Here Yahweh seems to make clear the people's sin by quoting directly the formula from the mouth of the people.

Yahweh is credited with the deliverance only once in Exodus 32-34: in 32:11b, where the formula is used with the Hiphil of יצא. The deliverance formula in Exodus 32:7b should be compared with 32:11b.

Exod. 32:7b (Yahweh's speech) עַמְּךָ אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלִיתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם
"your people whom you (i.e., Moses) *brought up* from the land of Egypt."

Exod. 32:11b (Moses' speech) בְּעַמֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם
"against your people whom you (i.e., Yahweh) *brought out* from the land of Egypt."

The interesting use of the second person form of the verbs הוציא and העלה between Yahweh and Moses seems to indicate an effort to transfer the responsibility for the troublesome sinful people of Israel away from the speaker. The verb "brought out"

[הוציא] is used in the Decalogue both in Exodus and Deuteronomy (Exod. 20:2; Deut. 5:6). In Exodus 32-34 Moses never uses the word "brought up" [העלה] but deliberately quotes the Decalogue's formulation "brought out" [הוציא] in his intercessory prayer (Exod. 32:11).

In general terms it may be that the exodus formula with העלה is related to the geographical idea (going north to Canaan), whereas the exodus formula with הוציא emphasizes more the idea of deliverance.[50] In Deuteronomy the exodus formula with הוציא occurs 21 times, whereas the formula with העלה occurs only once (in Deut. 20:1).[51] Deuteronomy's use of הוציא instead of העלה in 9:12 seems to highlight the theological significance of the exodus. In Exodus 32:11 Moses seems to emphasise Yahweh's act of deliverance by using deliberately the word הוציא.

Exod. 32:8a	Deuteronomy 9:12b
they have been quick to turn aside from the way that I commanded them; they have cast for themselves an image of a calf [עֵגֶל מַסֵּכָה],	*They have been quick to turn from the way that I commanded them; they have cast an image* [מַסֵּכָה] *for themselves.'*

Deuteronomy designates the object which the people made as simply מַסֵּכָה, "a molten image," rather than עֵגֶל מַסֵּכָה, "a molten calf (*lit.*, calf of molten image)"; the specific word עֵגֶל is missing in Deuteronomy.

Exod. 32:8b

and have worshipped it and sacrificed to it, and said, 'These are your gods, O Israel, who brought up out of the land of Egypt!'

In Exodus 32:8b Yahweh tells Moses exactly what the people have done, "they have worshipped it, and have sacrificed to it," and also quotes verbatim what the people said in 32:4. This lengthy description of events does not appear in Deuteronomy; Yahweh's command to Moses to go down is followed by a much briefer description of the people's apostasy.

Various suggestions have been made to explain why Deuteronomy omits the detail of the people's apostasy. Weinfeld argues that the Deuteronomic author was not interested in technical ritual procedures and so omitted the details about the worship.[52]

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[50]P. Humbert, "Dieu fait sortir," *TZ* 18 (1962), 360; E. Zenger, "Le thème de la «sortie d'Égypte» et la naissance du Pentateuque," in *Le Pentateuque en question: Les origines et la composition des cinq premiers livres de la Bible à la lumière des recherches récentes*, edited by Albert de Pury. Second edition (Genève: Labor et Fides, 1991), 303-4.

[51]P. Humbert (1962), 359-60.

[52]M. Weinfeld (1991), 409.

However, we do find references to sacrifices in Deuteronomy (12:6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15), and since the omitted verse, Exodus 32:8, is usually considered as a deuteronomic redaction, Weinfeld's argument is not convincing.

In fact Deuteronomy's omission of Yahweh's description of the people's apostasy in Exodus 32:8b is in line with Deuteronomy's omission of Exodus 32:1-6: Exodus 32:8b is actually quoting Exodus 32:4b verbatim. Throughout the episode Deuteronomy is making a few points about the sins of the people. The purpose of Moses' sermon in Deuteronomy is to teach the people not to repeat the sins of their fathers, and from the didactic point of view detailed descriptions of sin can have a negative impact on the behaviour of audience. So in many cases Deuteronomy refrains from reporting the concrete sins of the people, preferring to give theological explanation rather than describe negative events.

Exod. 32:9-10	Deuteronomy 9:13-14
Yahweh said to Moses, 'I have seen this people, how stubborn they are. Now let me alone, that my wrath may burn hot against them; but of you I will make a great nation.'	*Furthermore Yahweh said to me, 'I have seen that this people is indeed a stubborn people. Let me alone that I may destroy them and blot out their name from under heaven; but I will make of you a nation mightier and more numerous than they.'*

The Hebrew text is as follows.

Exod. 32:9-10	Deut. 9:13-14
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל־מֹשֶׁה רָאִיתִי אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה עַם־קְשֵׁה־עֹרֶף הוּא: וְעַתָּה הַנִּיחָה לִי וְיִחַר־אַפִּי בָהֶם וַאֲכַלֵם וְאֶעֱשֶׂה אוֹתְךָ לְגוֹי גָּדוֹל:	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלַי לֵאמֹר רָאִיתִי אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה וְהִנֵּה עַם־קְשֵׁה־עֹרֶף הוּא: הָרֶף מִמֶּנִּי וְאַשְׁמִידֵם וְאֶמְחֶה אֶת־שְׁמָם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם וְאֶעֱשֶׂה אוֹתְךָ לְגוֹי־עָצוּם וְרַב מִמֶּנּוּ:

Some scholars regard Exodus 32:9 and Deuteronomy 9:13 as secondary, since the introductory speech formula ויאמר יהוה אל־משה/אלי is repeated (cf. Exod. 32:7; Deut. 9:12).[53] The use of two introductory speech formulas in both texts (i.e., וַיְדַבֵּר and וַיֹּאמֶר in Exod. 32:7, 9, and וַיֹּאמֶר in Deut. 9:12, 13) has been considered odd. Aurelius distinguishes the author of Exodus 32:9 from that of 32:7 because of the change from דבר (32:7) to אמר (32:9) and from "your people" [עַמְּךָ] (32:7) to "this people" [הָעָם הַזֶּה] (32:9). Aurelius's distinction of redactional layer on the basis of linguistic changes is

[53]See J. Hahn (1987), 239.

inadequate, because, as Van Seters correctly points out, the fluctuation of the phrases (דבר and אמר, עַמְּךָ and הָעָם הַזֶּה) is so frequent and common in speeches and prayers (cf. Exod. 5:22-23; 32:33-34; Deut. 9:26-29). But Van Seters's explanation is not fully satisfactory either: he simply assumes that the double divine statements in Exodus 32:7-10 are based upon J's source in Deuteronomy 9:12-14.[54]

However, an examination of the content of the text shows that the two introductory speech formulas introduce slightly different aspects of Yahweh's speech. In Yahweh's first speech (Exod. 32:7-8; Deut. 9:12) Yahweh tells Moses what he (Moses) should do, whereas in the second speech (Exod. 32:9-10; Deut. 9:13) Yahweh tells Moses what Yahweh himself is going to do. In each case an imperative קוּם רֵד/לֶךְ־רֵד (Exod. 32:7; Deut. 9:12) or הָרֶף מִמֶּנִּי/הַנִּיחָה לִי (Exod. 32:10; Deut. 9:13) is followed by the reason for the command. To sum up, Yahweh's speeches and the two introductory speech formulas can simply be considered to be integral and not an amalgam of redactional activity.

Deuteronomy 9:13 quotes Yahweh's speech in Exodus 32:9 verbatim. Deuteronomy employs the quotation formula, לֵאמֹר after the main verb אמר,[55] and changes the person from אֶל־מֹשֶׁה to אֵלַי.

We should also note the change from וְעַתָּה הַנִּיחָה לִי in Exodus to הָרֶף מִמֶּנִּי in Deuteronomy. In Exodus Yahweh's austere response is introduced by "and now" [וְעַתָּה], which does not appear in Deuteronomy. According to Cassuto, the expression וְעַתָּה "indicates the conclusion reached by God."[56] Wenham's explanation of the use of this word in Genesis is helpful: the word וְעַתָּה generally introduces "an ethical consequence of a preceding statement"[57] or "a decision based on the immediately preceding

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[54]J. Van Seters (1994), 308, 311.

[55]Peckham thinks that the writer of this verse, whom he calls DTR II, uses לאמר to indicate a soliloquy (see 9:4). On the contrary it seems that לֵאמֹר is *not* normally used in that way, and in any case Yahweh can be seen addressing Moses in the following verse. Peckham (1975: 26) also comments that Deut. 9:1-10:11 was mainly written by the seventh-century Deuteronomist (DTR I) with some didactic comments by the hand of an exilic editor (DTR II). It is, however, striking that Exod. 32:9 is missing in LXX. J. Hahn (1987), 239, argues that Deut. 9:12-14 is dependent on Exod. 32:7-10. He, however, makes an exception for this dependence (Deuteronomy on Exodus) in the case of Exod. 32:9 because of the omission of this verse in LXX. He argues that Exod. 32:9 [MT] has been infiltrated from Deut. 9:13; see J. Hahn (1987), 107-15, for his arguments. H. Valentin, *Aaron: Eine Studie zur vor-priesterschriftlichen Aaron-Überlieferung*, OBO 18 (Götingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 270, extends this form of the dependence (Exodus on Deuteronomy) to the case of Exod. 32:8a and Deut. 9:12b.

[56]U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1967), 415. Cf. A. Niccacci, *The Syntax of the Verb in Classical Hebrew Prose*, JSOTS 86 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 101: וְעַתָּה introduces the result in view of the event or action dealt with beforehand.

[57]G. J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, WBC (Waco: Word Books, 1987), 107; cf. H. A. Brongers, "Bemerkungen zum Gebrauch des adverbialen *We`attah* im alten Testament (Ein lexikologischer Beitrag)," *VT* 15 (1965), 289-99.

statements, often in judicial sentences on sin (e.g., Gen. 3:22; 4:11; 11:6; 12:19; 20:7)."[58] In Exodus Yahweh informs Moses of the people's apostasy, and Yahweh's description of the people's apostasy, even quoting the people's blasphemous words against himself (Exod. 32:8b), is so real and vivid that the reader cannot but expect Yahweh's stern punishment. So the expression וְעַתָּה is appropriate in the context.

The author of Deuteronomy, however, skips the detail of the incident and simply summarises it, and so the omission of וְעַתָּה in Deuteronomy is not surprising.

Deuteronomy also has the expression הֶרֶף מִמֶּנִּי (literally, "abandon/forsake me") instead of הַנִּיחָה לִי (literally, "give me rest") in Exodus. In Exodus 32:10 Yahweh commands Moses, by the use of the Hiphil imperative of נוח,[59] to leave him alone [הַנִּיחָה לִי], i.e., to refrain from bothering him (i.e., Yahweh) by interceding on behalf of the people. In Deuteronomy the Hiphil imperative of רפה is used. In the Pentateuch, the Hiphil of רפה occurs only in Deuteronomy, and has the meaning "to let drop, abandon."[60]

In Exodus 32:10 and Deuteronomy 9:14 the two imperatives are used "in the sense of an ironical challenge."[61] Whatever the precise meaning of these phrases, it is clear that in spite of the threatening language Yahweh leaves the door open. He intends to negotiate the fate of the people with Moses and almost puts their fate in his hands.[62] Unless Moses intercedes, Yahweh's judgement will fall and Moses will be left like Noah, a one-man remnant from which Yahweh will remake the nation. Yahweh gives Moses the opportunity to act as mediator and save the people. The expressions וְעַתָּה הַנִּיחָה לִי in Exodus 32:10 and הֶרֶף מִמֶּנִּי Deuteronomy 9:14 have virtually the same sense and the change of vocabulary is merely the result of Deuteronomy's free re-telling of the Exodus material.

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[58]G. J. Wenham (1987), 290; idem, *Genesis 16-50*, WBC (Dallas: Word Books, 1994), 136. In Gen. 24:19 וְעַתָּה "introduces the request to which previous remarks are a preamble"; [in Gen. 41:33] וְעַתָּה "often marks the transition between statements of fact and their moral consequence": G. J. Wenham (1994), 394; cf. H. A. Brongers (1965), 293-94.

[59]L. J. Coppes, "נוח," in *TWOT*, 2: 562. Standard Hebrew concordance and lexicons unanimously give two meanings for the Hiphil of נוח: Hiphil-a [הֵנִיחַ], "to cause to settle down, give rest", and Hiphil-b [הִנִּיחַ] "to lay, deposit." G. Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament*, (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1958), 909-10; F. Stolz, "נוח," *THAT*: 2: 43-46; BDB, 628-29. For example, the Hiphil-a (causative) is used in Exodus 17:11 as the opposite meaning of "to hold up": "As long as Moses held up his hand, the Israelites were prevailing, but whenever he *gave rest* (i.e., let down or lowered) [הֵנִיחַ] his hand, Amalek were prevailing." For other examples of Hiphil-a, see Exod. 33:14; Deut. 3:20; 12:10; 25:19; Isa. 30:32; Ezek. 44:30; etc. However, Hiphil-b occurs more frequently in the Old Testament.

[60]Cf. Deut. 4:31; 31:6; 31:8 and Josh. 10:6.

[61]GKC, 110a. Further examples of ironical challenges are as follows: Solomon says to his mother Bathsheba, "Ask for him also the kingdom" (1 Kgs. 2:22); Micaiah says to Jehoshaphat, "Go up and succeed, and Yahweh will give it into the hand of king" (1 Kgs. 22:15). See also Judg. 10:14; Isa. 47:12, etc.

[62]Many commentators correctly understand that Yahweh's statement, "Let me alone," in Deuteronomy 9:14 was an inducement which prompts Moses to intercede and that Moses actually interceded here. See, e.g., P. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy*, NICOT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 195; A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, NCBC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 199 (implicitly).

In Exodus, after bluntly reporting the incident to Moses, Yahweh expresses his anger against the people: "so that my wrath may burn against them" [וְיִחַר־אַפִּי בָהֶם]. Deuteronomy, however, does not speak of Yahweh's anger in so many words.[63] In Exodus the process of the making, breaking and renewal of the covenant occupies an important place and each process is described in detail, and even Yahweh's anger against the people's apostasy is described without reservation. Exodus also reports Moses' anger at his discovery of the calf and the people dancing. Deuteronomy, by contrast, does not directly report Yahweh's anger (nor Moses' anger), and the reason for this is in line with Moses' purpose in his sermon: he wants to emphasize Yahweh's grace not his anger in the face of the people's sinful behaviour. Though Moses does mention Yahweh's anger against the people later (9:18-20; cf. also 9:7-8, 22-2), he avoids reporting it in Yahweh's own speech, as the impact of direct speech is more powerful than that of indirect.[64]

Exodus and Deuteronomy use different vocabulary to express Yahweh's plan of destruction: the Piel of כלה is used in Exodus, whereas the Hiphil of שמד in Deuteronomy.

The Piel of כלה has the sense here of "being consumed" but often has positive connotations as well. As Oswalt says: "Something may be continually added to until it is full or complete, or something may be taken away from until there is nothing left."[65] In a positive sense it is used to describe processes which are brought to completion, such as the building of the temple (2 Chr. 8:16). In Exodus it is used when God had delivered all the instructions on the construction for the tabernacle to Moses in Exodus 31:18. In its negative sense the word is used with the meaning of "to devastate" or "to ravage." For example, Joseph interprets Pharaoh's dream: "the famine will devastate [וְכִלָּה] the land" in Genesis 41:30. The Piel of כלה is also used in the meaning of "to destroy" in Exodus 32:10, 12; and 33:3, 5.

The objects of destruction occurring with the Hiphil of שמד are mostly people. שמד is always used in passages dealing with the judgment or vengeance of Yahweh.[66] Yahweh acts as an agent for the extermination of sinners in many cases.[67] The destruction depicted by שמד usually involves a rather sudden catastrophe such as warfare or a mass killing.

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[63]Deuteronomy reports Yahweh's anger later (cf. Deut. 9:19: כִּי יָגֹרְתִּי מִפְּנֵי הָאַף וְהַחֵמָה אֲשֶׁר קָצַף יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם לְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתְכֶם).

[64]See further discussion below on Exod. 32:19b // Deut. 9:17.

[65]J. N. Oswalt, "כָּלָה," in *TWOT*, 1: 439.

[66]H. J. Austel, "שָׁמַד," in *TWOT*, 2: 935.

[67]Such as Deut. 6:15; 7:4; 9:8, 14, 19, 25; 28:48, 63; cf. Lev. 26:30; Josh. 23:15; 1 Kgs. 13:34.

Deuteronomy's expression for the total destruction of the people is וְאָמְחָה אֶת־שְׁמָם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם. In the Pentateuch מחה, "to blot/wipe out," is used to express the death of a human being in such a way that they will not even be remembered, usually as a result of covenant curse. It is also used in Numbers 5:23 where water is used to wipe out the scroll on which the curses were written, and in the context of covenant loyalty this expression is tantamount to Yahweh saying he will terminate his relationship with his people.[68] In the Flood story, this word is used for the destruction of all living things on the earth (except Noah), as a sign of divine judgement.[69]

The expression "blot out the name under the heaven" occurs several times in Deuteronomy (9:14; 25:19; 29:19; cf. 25:6). In the curse section in Deuteronomy 29, it is said that anyone who hears the words of Yahweh's covenant requirements but disregards them will have his name blotted out from under heaven (29:18-19 [Eng. 29:19-20]). The drastic expression "I may blot out their name from under heaven" [וְאָמְחָה אֶת־שְׁמָם מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם] in Deuteronomy 9:14 clearly indicates the broken covenant relationship between Yahweh and his people.

A similar meaning is found in Exodus 17:14: "Yahweh shall surely blot out the memory of Amalek under the heaven" [כִּי־מָחֹה אֶמְחֶה אֶת־זֵכֶר עֲמָלֵק מִתַּחַת הַשָּׁמָיִם]. Although the word מחה does not occur in Exodus 32:10, it occurs in a different context in Exodus 32:32-33. In Exodus 32:32 Moses asks Yahweh to forgive Israel or to blot out his own name from the book Yahweh has written (cf. 32:33). Boorer thinks that it is Exodus 32:32-33 which corresponds to Deuteronomy 9:14.[70] Merrill's comment on this point is illuminating:[71]

> Even more striking is the Exodus version of the Horeb incident where Moses implored the Lord to forgive Israel's sin of the golden calf. If God would not, then, said Moses, "blot me out of the book you have written" (Exod. 32:32). The Lord's response was, "Whoever has sinned against me I will blot out of my book" (v. 33). The "book" here is clearly that of covenant relationship though elsewhere it refers as well to the "book of life" in which the names of all believers are recorded (cf. Ps. 69:28; Dan. 12:1; Mal. 3:16; Rev. 13:8; 17:8; 20:12, 15; 21:17).

To sum up, Deuteronomy seems to emphasise the broken relationship by using this expression, and consequently Yahweh's grace is highlighted through the renewal of the covenant later in Deuteronomy 10.

Another difference between the Exodus and Deuteronomy versions here occurs in the resolution of Yahweh to make a new nation with Moses. Yahweh's new plan with

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[68]Cf. J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy*, TOTC (Leicester and Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1974), 140; E. H. Merrill, *Deuteronomy*, NAC (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman & Holman, 1994), 193.

[69]All the occurrences of מחה in Genesis are found in the Flood story.

[70]S. Boorer (1992), 309.

[71]E. H. Merrill (1994), 193-94.

Moses is expanded: from "a great nation" [וְאֶעֱשֶׂה אוֹתְךָ לְגוֹי גָּדוֹל] to "a nation mightier and greater than they" [וְאֶעֱשֶׂה אוֹתְךָ לְגוֹי־עָצוּם וְרַב מִמֶּנּוּ].

Exod. 32:11-14	Deut. 9:26-29; 10:10-11
11) But Moses implored Yahweh his God, and said, 'O Yahweh, why does your wrath burn hot against your people, whom you brought out of the land of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand? 12) Why should the Egyptians say, 'It was with an evil intent that he brought them out to kill them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth?' Turn from your fierce wrath; change your mind and do not bring disaster upon your people. 13) Remember Abraham, Isaac and Israel, your servants, how you swore to them by your own self, saying to them, 'I will multiply your descendants like the stars of heaven, and all this land that I have promised I will give to your descendants, and they shall inherit it for ever.' 14) And Yahweh changed his mind about the disaster that he had planned to bring upon his people.	*26) I prayed to Yahweh and said, 'My Lord Yahweh, do not destroy the people who are your very own possession, whom you redeemed in your greatness, whom you brought out of Egypt with a mighty hand. 27) Remember your servants, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; pay no attention to the stubbornness of this people, their wickedness and their sin, 28) otherwise the land from which you have brought us might say, 'Because Yahweh was not able to bring them into the land that he promised them, and because he hated them, he has brought them out to let them die in the wilderness.' 29) For they are the people of your very own possession, whom you brought out by your great power and by your outstretched arm.'* *10:10) I stayed on the mountain for forty days and forty nights, as I had done the first time. And once again Yahweh listened to me. Yahweh was unwilling to destroy you, 11) and Yahweh said to me, 'Get up, go on your journey at the head of the people, that they may go in and occupy the land that I swore to their ancestors to give them.'*

Moses' intercession in 32:11-13 and Yahweh's answer in 32:14 do not occur at the same point in Deuteronomy. Although the prayer in Deuteronomy 9:26-29 is very similar, it is easy to find differences between them. In Exodus Moses' prayer occurs before his descent of the mountain, immediately after Yahweh has told him about the people's apostasy, and the judgement he proposes. In Deuteronomy, his prayer in 9:25-29 seems to be offered during his second forty days stay on the mountain, and is linked to the re-writing of the tablets of stone in 10:1-5. Deuteronomy omits Moses' first prayer and Yahweh's response to it.

The sequence and time of the prayers in Exodus 32-34 and Deuteronomy 9-10 seem contradictory. In Exodus Moses prays as soon as he is told about the apostasy of the people during his first stay on the mountain (32:11-13). On the other hand, in Deuteronomy there is no prayer immediately after the announcement of the people's apostasy. Moses' prayers on behalf of the people (Deut. 9:18-19) and Aaron (9:20) are referred to only after the destruction of the tablets (9:17), but the contents of the intercessions are not disclosed. The contents of the prayer appear in Deuteronomy 9:26-29 after the description of the destruction of the calf and a recollection of other rebellious

incidents. Most of the phrases are similar to those in Exodus 32:11-13 but some (e.g. Deut. 9:28a) seem to be taken from either Exodus 32:31-32 or even Numbers 14:16.

Greenberg compares the prayers in Deuteronomy 9:26-29 with those in Exodus 32[72] and notices that Moses does not ask for the forgiveness of the people's sin in his first prayer in Exodus 32:11-13, but leaves this until his subsequent intercession in 32:31-32.[73] On the other hand, Greenberg finds an "element of confession"[74] in the Deuteronomy version of Moses' prayer. After pleading against the total destruction of the people on the basis of their meritorious ancestors (Deut. 9:26), Moses acknowledges the people's sin: "do not look at the stubbornness of this people, its wickedness, and its sinfulness" (Deut. 9:27a). From this Greenberg concludes that the prayers of Exodus 32:11-13 and 32:31-32 were fused into the Deuteronomic version.

Greenberg asks why the people's sin is not alluded to at all in the first intercessory prayer in Exodus 32, and suggests that Moses could not plead for the forgiveness of their sin before he confirms it with his own eyes. Greenberg argues that Moses deliberately delayed his prayer for the forgiveness of the people's sin until he ascertained that Yahweh's report is true, and only then, Greenberg claims, did he go up the mountain to confess their sin and plead for the forgiveness.[75]

But Greenberg 's argument is hardly convincing. If Moses had doubted what Yahweh had told him about the people's apostasy, he would not have prayed for the people's deliverance from total destruction in 32:11-14. There seems to be another reason, i.e., a theological motive, rather than any doubt on Moses' part about Yahweh's words.

It is important to see the logic and development of Moses' prayers in Exodus 32-34.[76] In his first prayer, Moses appeals solely to Yahweh's faithfulness to his promise as an initial step towards the full restoration of the covenant relationship (Exod. 32:11-13). Yahweh relents but it does not mean that the people's sin is actually forgiven: the people escape only from total destruction, the forgiveness of their sin and their full restoration

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[72]According to Greenberg, Moses' two intercessory prayers in Exodus 32 (vv. 11-13 and 31-32) "constitute the heart of Moses' effort to avert the destruction of the people." As a result of Moses' first intercession, Yahweh relents and does not bring on his people the disaster which he has threatened (Exod. 32:14). In a similar vein, after the second intercession Yahweh restricts "the scope of punishment to the guilty only" (32:35). M. Greenberg, "Moses' Intercessory Prayer (Exod. 32:11-13, 31-32; Deut. 9:26-29)," *EITY* (1977-78), 23.

[73]Except the first prayer (Exod. 32:11-13) the element of confession occurs in all prayers of Moses in Exodus, explicitly in his second (Exod. 32:31-32) and the fourth (34:9) prayers, and implicitly in the third prayer (33:12-23). Moses' requests for Yahweh's accompaniment, presence, and glory (33:12-13, 15-16, 18) presuppose the people's sin. See R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 66-83.

[74]M. Greenberg (1977-78), 31.

[75]M. Greenberg (1977-78), 32.

[76]Cf. D. R. Davis, "Rebellion, Presence, and Covenant: A Study in Exodus 32-34," *WTJ* 44 (1982), 71-87; R. W. L. Moberly (1983).

still need to be secured. After the punishment executed by the Levites, Moses goes up the mountain and intercedes with Yahweh a second time, this time to atone for the people's sin, even presenting himself as a scapegoat (32:31-32). Yahweh partially grants Moses' prayer, although he refuses his special presence among his people.[77] In his third prayer, Moses boldly seeks the special presence of Yahweh (33:12-13; 15-16) which has been previously denied (Exod. 32:34; cf. 33:3b-5) and this time Yahweh grants his request in full (Exod. 33:17). Having seen all his petitions granted, Moses makes one final request that Yahweh reveal himself in a fuller way than before, because Moses knows that the divine presence "in the midst of" the sinful Israelites would inevitably cause the destruction of the people. Yahweh again responds affirmatively to this request (Exod. 33:19). Finally, when Yahweh reveals his goodness and mercy as a sign of not destroying the people in spite of their sinfulness, Moses prays for the forgiveness of the people's sin in spite of their stubbornness in response to the revelation of Yahweh's glory (Exod. 34:9).[78]

The differences of the presentations of Moses' prayer in Exodus and Deuteronomy result from the different concerns of these books. In Exodus Moses tackles one by one a number of issues which have to be solved before Yahweh and the people can be reconciled. In Deuteronomy, after briefly mentioning the intercessions on behalf of the people and Aaron, we are only told the content of one prayer of Moses, summarising what appears in greater detail in Exodus.

Many commentators rightly understand the statement of Yahweh, "Let me alone" (Deut. 9:14) as the impetus which prompts Moses to intercede.[79] Deuteronomy does not report Moses' first prayer and arranges Moses' prayers differently from Exodus. Moses' sermon in Deuteronomy follows a certain thematic order.[80]

When Moses intercedes for the people in Deuteronomy he explains to Yahweh the damage his threatened punishment will have on his reputation. The Egyptians may think he hates the people (Deut. 9:28b), which more or less matches the "evil intent" of the Exodus account in 32:12. But first of all Moses points out that the Egyptians will think Yahweh is too weak or for some other reason was unable to carry out his promise, a motive we do not find in Exodus. Greenberg points out that this motive, i.e., the alleged

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[77]See R. W. L. Moberly's interpretation of Exod. 32:33 in his book (1983), 57-58.

[78]Exod. 34:9 contains a remarkable theological paradox. The phrase, "a stiff-necked people," which previously provoked Yahweh's wrath (Exod. 32:9; 33:3), functions as a factor to bring about his mercy. Moberly finds in Exod. 34:9 a theology of the grace of God unsurpassed in the OT and he draws similar parallels between the flood and Sinai narratives. See R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 91-92, 113-115.

[79]M. Weinfeld (1991: 409), however, unconvincingly argues that because of Yahweh's command to "go down quickly" Moses delayed his prayer until his second ascent to the mountain.

[80]For example, the destruction of the calf, which immediately followed the shattering of the tablets in Exodus, appears in Deuteronomy after the mention of Moses' two prayers.

impotence of Yahweh, is not unique to Deuteronomy, but occurs also in Numbers 14:15b-16 in the spy narrative where Moses prays:

> then the nations who have heard of your fame [שִׁמְעֲךָ, lit., "your hearing/report"] will say, saying, "Because Yahweh could not bring this people into the land which He promised them by oath, therefore He slaughtered them in the wilderness."

The similarities between the Numbers passage and Deuteronomy passage are striking as we see in the following juxtaposition.

Deut. 9:28	Num. 14:15-16
פֶּן־יֹאמְרוּ הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָנוּ מִשָּׁם	וְהֵמַתָּה אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה כְּאִישׁ אֶחָד
מִבְּלִי יְכֹלֶת יְהוָה לַהֲבִיאָם	וְאָמְרוּ הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר־שָׁמְעוּ אֶת־שִׁמְעֲךָ לֵאמֹר:
אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר לָהֶם	מִבְּלְתִּי יְכֹלֶת יְהוָה לְהָבִיא אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה
וּמִשִּׂנְאָתוֹ אוֹתָם הוֹצִיאָם לַהֲמִתָם בַּמִּדְבָּר:	אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־נִשְׁבַּע לָהֶם
	וַיִּשְׁחָטֵם בַּמִּדְבָּר:

In my view the prayer in Deuteronomy 9:26-29 is not a mere recollection or variation of the prayer in Exodus 32:11-13[81] but it reflects both all the prayers which are reported in Exodus 32-33 (32:11-13, 31-32; 33:12-23) and also the prayers which are not reported there (the intercessory prayer on behalf of Aaron does not occur in Exodus).

Exod. 32:15, 16	Deut 9:15
Then Moses turned and went down from the mountain, carrying the two tablets of the testimony in his hands, tablets that were written on both sides, written on the front and on the back. The tablets were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, engraved upon the tablets.	*So I turned and went down from the mountain, while the mountain was ablaze; the two tablets of the covenant were in my two hands.*

Deuteronomy's comment that the mountain "was burning with fire" [וְהָהָר בֹּעֵר בָּאֵשׁ] is missing in Exodus. This phrase reminds us that what was written on the tablets of the covenant was the Decalogue, since the same expression occurs in the Horeb theophany in Deuteronomy 4:11 and 5:23.[82] The reference to the theophany heightens the seriousness of the people's apostasy--they violated the covenant while the covenant-

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[81]M. Greenberg (1977-78: 33) comments on this point as follows: "This motif, properly belonging to the episode of the scouts, has been added by the Deuteronomist to the motive of evil intent (hatred), original to the golden calf intercession (as in Exodus). ... All these features point to the secondary and derivative character of Deuteronomy's version; it was adapted from materials found in Exodus in earlier forms, restructured and revised stylistically to fit its new setting." See also his critique on Von Rad's view there.

[82]This expression occurs also in Exod. 3:2 where Moses receives the revelation from Yahweh for the first time.

making was still going on.[83] The fieriness of the theophanic splendour also suggests the fieriness of Yahweh's anger (cf. Exod. 32:10; Deut. 9:19).[84]

Deuteronomy changes the description of Moses' holding of the tablets when he descends from the mountain: from "the two tablets ... were *in his hand*" [בְּיָדוֹ] to "and the two tablets of the covenant were *in my two hands*" [עַל שְׁתֵּי יָדָי]. The change is not greatly significant but the expression in Deuteronomy seems to be more vivid than that in Exodus.

The detailed description of where the tablets were inscribed in Exodus 32:15-16 is not found in Deuteronomy 9. Some scholars assume that this section was inserted later by P because of the characteristic P expression לֻחֹת הָעֵדֻת in 32:15.[85] Many also discern Deuteronomic influence in this section, because they think that the concept of the ark as a testimony [אֲרוֹן הָעֵדֻת][86] derived from Deuteronomy 10:1-5 which reports that the tablets were kept in the ark.[87]

Hahn summarises various arguments for the separate origin of Exodus 32:15b-16 from the rest of the text.[88] However, B. D. Eerdmans suggests that the concept לחת העדת in verse 15 should not necessarily be considered as a P characteristic or a later redaction, since the P writer "could have borrowed the expression."[89] Hahn compares Exodus 32:15b-16 with its parallel narrative in Deuteronomy 9, and thinks that the basic narrative in Exodus 32 was available to the author of Deuteronomy.[90] Nevertheless he simply assumes that Exod. 32:15b-16 was added later by P because of its absence in Deuteronomy.[91]

An alternative view, which explains the absence of 32:15b-16 in Deuteronomy 9 as due to the different concerns of the books, is also legitimate. Davis thinks that the second part of Exodus 32 is introduced in exactly the reverse order of the first half of the

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[83]M. Weinfeld (1991), 410.

[84]E. H. Merrill (1994), 194. Cf. also Deut. 4:24: "Yahweh your God is a consuming fire, a jealous God."

[85]A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus*, KEHAT (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1880), 339; B. Baentsch, *Exodus-Leviticus-Numeri*, HK I: 2 (Göttingen, 1903), 271; S. R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1911), 352; C. A. Simpson, *The Early Traditions of Israel: A Critical Analysis of the Pre-deuteronomic Narrative of the Hexateuch* (Oxford, 1948), 206; J. C. Rylaarsdam, "The Book of Exodus," in *IB* (New York, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1952), 1067; E. Zenger, *Die Sinaitheophanie* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1971), 84.

[86]Cf. Exod. 25:22; 26:33, 34; 30:6, 26; 31:7.

[87]S. Lehming (1960), 33f, 38, n. 1, 39, n. 2.

[88]J. Hahn (1987), 117-18.

[89]B. D. Eerdmans, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, III: Das Buch Exodus (Gießen, 1910), 72.

[90]Concerning Exod. 32:15-16, there is a minimal consensus among the scholarship to attribute the words וירד משה מן ההר in v. 15aα to an old basic narrative. J. Hahn (1987), 119.

[91]J. Hahn (1987), 118, 240.

chapter and argues that the elaborate description of the tablets reveals the literary skill of the Exodus narrator.[92] His narrative structure is as follows:

People rebelling, v1
  Aaron's role, vv 1ff.
    Calf produced, v 4
      Two tablets intact, vv 15-16
      Two tablets broken, v 19
    Calf destroyed, v 20
  Anger at Aaron, vv 21-24
People judged, vv 25-29

Davis claims:

> This intense dwelling upon the two tables seems meant to underscore the vast privilege of Israel in having this gracious divine deposit; yet at the same time it most effectively conveys to us the sense of utter *tragedy*, for the reader *already knows* that the covenant has been bartered away for a bastard bull. [Again,] this would appear to be literary artistry at its best.[93]

As in Exodus 24:12, Exodus again stresses that it is the law which is written on the tablets.

Exod. 32:17-18

When Joshua heard the noise of the people as they shouted, he said to Moses, 'There is the noise of war in the camp,' But he said,
'It is not the sound made by victors,
or the sound made by losers;
it is the sound of revellers that I hear.'

Moses' conversation with Joshua is missing in Deuteronomy. Most scholars regard Exodus 32:17-18 as a whole unit, and attribute them to one of the older sources; they identify this section with the same source (E or J) to which they attribute the other passages where Joshua appears (e.g., Exod. 17:8-16; 24:13).[94]

However, a few scholars argue that these verses are a later addition to the existing basic narrative in verses 32:15-16 and 19-20.[95] Some scholars think the appearance of Joshua is out of context, since Joshua is never mentioned again in the rest of Exodus 32.[96] However, if we consider the wider context, the appearance of Joshua is rather to be expected considering he makes another important appearance in Exodus 33:11, and had

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[92]Cf. D. R. Davis (1982), 74.
[93]D. R. Davis (1982), 74.
[94]For a list of the advocates for each source, see J. Hahn (1987), 120-21.
[95]H. Greßmann, *Mose und seine Zeit* (Götingen: Dandenhoed & Ruprecht, 1913), 199ff; O. Eissfeldt, *Hexateuch-Synopse*, (Leipzig, 1922), 51; E. Auerbach, *Moses* (Amsterdam: G. J. A. Ruys, 1953), 138; S. Lehming (1960), 39f; W. J. Harrelson, "Calf, Golden," in *IDB*, I: 488; E. Zenger (1971), 84; H. Valentin (1978), 238; J. Hahn (1987), 121.
[96]O. Eissfeldt (1922), 51; E. Auerbach (1953), 138.

accompanied Moses up to the middle of the mountain in Exodus 24:13.[97] More significantly some scholars regard Exodus 32:17-18 as superfluous to the immediate context and judge that these verses match badly the next verse which describes Moses' abrupt burst of anger.[98] This leads Zenger, for example, to suggest a direct connection of verse 15 with verse 19, judging verses 16-18 to be a later addition.[99]

It is noteworthy that none of the Exodus passages where Joshua and Aaron are referred to are included in Deuteronomy.[100] Why does the author of Exodus include this passage at this point and what is its purpose? One of the functions of these two verses is to do with the development of the story, to retard the speed of the narrative and increase the suspense before Moses arrives on the scene of the apostasy. As Boorer remarks, Exodus 32:15-19 as a whole, of which these two verses are a part, "is a more dramatic account in narrative style" than the parallel narrative in Deuteronomy and "fits well" with the narrative of Exodus 32:1-6.[101] While Deuteronomy reports the scene of apostasy immediately after Moses' descent from the mountain (Deut. 9:15-16), Exodus describes Moses' approach to the scene gradually[102] through the conversation between Moses and Joshua. This section slows down the action, thereby creating a degree of suspense.[103] The dialogue of Moses with Joshua heightens "the discovery scene and the reaction of Moses to the apostasy."[104]

For Deuteronomy, the introduction of Joshua at this point would only distract from the focus of attention, though Van Seters points out that Joshua is a major figure in the Deuteronomistic history, and in his opinion it is odd that he is not mentioned. Van Seters therefore attributes the appearance of Joshua in Exodus 32 to an embellishment by J.[105] However, it should be noticed that Joshua plays an important role from a literary point of view but not a major role in any theological sense. Certainly his role in Exodus 32 is subservient to that of Moses, Joshua being portrayed as less insightful and less inspired in comparison with Moses. On the other hand, Deuteronomy does not report Moses' dialogue with Joshua in order to preserve Joshua's prestige, since the author of Deuteronomy wants to justify the transfer of the leadership from Moses to Joshua. In the

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[97]Some regard the mentioning of Joshua in Exod. 24:13 as a later addition because of the use of the singular verbs (ויקם and וילך) in v. 13 and the omission of Joshua's name in 13b. The use of a singular verb with the plural subject is not unusual in Hebrew (e.g., Num. 12:1; Judg. 5:1). The omission of Joshua's name does not necessarily mean that Joshua did not go up with Moses. See Moses' admonition to the elders in the following verse (v. 14) where Moses explicitly indicates that he was accompanied by Joshua (שבו־לנו בזה עד אשר־נשוב אליכם).

[98]H. Greßmann (1913), 201-2.

[99]E. Zenger (1971), 84.

[100]Deuteronomy, however, reports Moses' intercession for Aaron, but this prayer is not mentioned in Exodus. See below our discussion on Deut. 9:20 for this issue.

[101]S. Boorer (1992), 309.

[102]Moses' approach to the scene (Exod. 32:19aα) is also missing in Deuteronomy.

[103]H. Valentin (1978), 238; cf. D. E. Waring (1985), 36, n. 5; 87ff.

[104]J. Van Seters (1994), 294.

[105]J. Van Seters (1994), 310.

light of the parenetic nature of the book of Deuteronomy, there is no need to introduce Joshua in Deuteronomy.

Exod. 32:19a	Deut. 9:16
As soon as he came near the camp and saw the calf and the dancing,	*Then I saw that you had indeed sinned against Yahweh your God, by casting for yourselves an image of a calf; you had been quick to turn aside from the way that Yahweh had commanded you.*

The description of Moses' approach to the camp has a literary effect, increasing the suspense of the reader. In Deuteronomy the reader is expected to be already familiar with the story, thus the author does not repeat every detail which was already given in Exodus.

The "dances" [וּמְחֹלֹת] is also missing in Deuteronomy, but as we have observed, Exodus tends to describe the development of the events fully and gives a fuller description of the incident than Deuteronomy. So Exodus describes the scene in detail when Moses arrives at the camp. Deuteronomy, on the other hand, has little description of the scene, but stresses its theological significance,[106] giving a general comment on the event: "I saw that you had indeed sinned against Yahweh your God" (Deut. 9:16a). Exodus is more descriptive, whereas Deuteronomy is more interpretative.

Deuteronomy adds הִנֵּה to Moses' comment.[107] Scholars have various views on the use of הִנֵּה: McCarthy, for example, classifies various functions of הִנֵּה, including an introduction to something exciting or astonishing,[108] a cause, an occasion that triggers another action, a condition or concession, a purpose, a result or an adversative.[109] Berlin distinguishes three usages of הִנֵּה: first, הִנֵּה can indicate a switch in point of view, such as from that of the narrator to that of a character in the story (e.g., 1 Sam. 19:13-16); secondly, הִנֵּה may be used to introduce a new character or a new situation in a situation;[110] thirdly, הִנֵּה can be used as a word that serves to attract or direct one's attention.[111] Kogut, however, thinks that the functions of הִנֵּה proposed by Berlin can be reduced as one; הִנֵּה "captures and directs the reader's attention."[112] Here it is used to

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[106]We can find the same tendency in the comparison of the accounts of the destruction of the calf in Exod. 32:20 and Deut. 9:21. Good deeds are described fully but bad less fully elsewhere in the Bible.

[107]S. Kogut discusses extensively the use of הִנֵּה in his article, "On the Meaning and Syntactical Status of הִנֵּה in Biblical Hebrew," *StBi* 31 (1986): 133-54.

[108]According to F. I. Andersen (1974: 95), הִנֵּה clauses are one of the characteristics of dream reports in Biblical Hebrew (e.g., Gen. 41:17). S. Kogut (1986: 134), however, criticises Andersen's lack of any explanation concerning the syntactical status of הִנֵּה.

[109]D. J. McCarthy, "The use of *w^{e}hinnēh* in Biblical Hebrew," *Biblica* 61 (1980), 330-42.

[110]Its meaning is "at the same time" (e.g., Num. 25:5-6).

[111]A. Berlin, *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1983), 62-63, 91-95.

[112]Kogut criticises that her approach is literary and not linguistic and that she does not deal with the syntactical issues. See S. Kogut (1986), 137-38, for his critique of Berlin.

indicate that at that moment Moses saw with his own eyes the outrageous behaviour which Yahweh had warned him about.

Moses' description of the apostasy [סַרְתֶּם מַהֵר מִן־הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם] (Deut. 9:16b) is an indirect quotation of Yahweh's speech in Deuteronomy 9:12bα, and does not appear in Exodus, as if Moses quotes what Yahweh had said as a way of confirming what Yahweh had said. Taking on Yahweh's own words suggests that his actions which follow, the destruction of the tablets and the calf, reflect not only Moses' personal anger but also the divine anger.

Boorer suggests that in Exodus 32:19 "the drama of the narrative is expressed by a quick succession of verbs," whereas the narrative in Deuteronomy 9:16 consists of "a more stylized and theological statement."[113] The sin of the people is described as "turning aside quickly from Yahweh's commands." The expression "turn aside from the way" [סוּר מִן־הַדֶּרֶךְ] is quite frequent in Deuteronomy (9:12; 11:16, 28; 31:29). Boorer also notices that the description of the making of the calf in Deuteronomy 9:16aβ is "framed on either side by an abstract theological statement" (i.e., חֲטָאתֶם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם and סַרְתֶּם מַהֵר מִן־הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יְהוָה אֶתְכֶם). From this observation Boorer argues, rightly in my view, for a literary dependence of Deuteronomy 9-10 on Exodus 32-34, since "it is more probable that the significance of what is narrated should be later presented in abstract theological form than that a theological statement has later been reworked into a dramatic narrative."[114]

Exod. 32:19b	Deut. 9:17
Moses' anger burned hot, *and he threw the tablets from his hands* *and broke them at the foot of the mountain.*	*So I took hold of the two tablets and flung them from my two hands, smashing them before your eyes.*

The narrator's comment on Moses' anger [וַיִּחַר־אַף מֹשֶׁה] is missing in Deuteronomy, and instead Deuteronomy's description of the destruction of the tablets is more artistically elaborated.[115] The word אף appears twice in Exodus 32, once referring to Yahweh's anger in verse 10 [וְיִחַר־אַפִּי בָהֶם], the other referring to Moses' anger here in verse 19 [וַיִּחַר־אַף מֹשֶׁה]. However, while Moses' anger is never mentioned in Deuteronomy, Yahweh's anger against the people or Aaron is referred to several times in Deuteronomy 9: קצף in verses 7, 8, 19, 22; אנף in verses 8, 20; כעס in verse 18; אף ("anger") and חמה ("wrath") appear together in verse 19. While Yahweh's anger is described by Yahweh's own speech in Exodus, Yahweh's anger is mentioned indirectly

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[113]S. Boorer (1992), 309.

[114]S. Boorer (1992: 309) thinks Deut. 9:15-17 as "a summary of the Exodus account in abstracted theological form."

[115]A. Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1886), 280; J. Hahn (1987), 240.

by Moses' speech in Deuteronomy. As Moses wants to stresses Yahweh's grace in his sermon, he expresses Yahweh's anger from his point of view and avoids quoting directly Yahweh's speech.

The shattering of the tablets is more vividly described step by step in Deuteronomy than Exodus.[116] Exodus simply describes Moses' action: "he threw the tablets from his hand" [מִיָּדוֹ] (or "from his hands" [מִיָּדָיו, *Qere*]), whereas Deuteronomy elaborates on Moses' action: 1) he seized [וָאֶתְפֹּשׂ] the tablets, 2) he threw them from the two of his hands [מֵעַל שְׁתֵּי יָדָי], 3) and he shattered them before their eyes. In Deuteronomy Moses' shattering of the tablets should be interpreted not as a spontaneous expression of his own anger[117] but as a conscious act which symbolises the breaking of the covenant with Yahweh. The word תפש means basically "seize, take hold of" and implies a violent action,[118] and the violent reaction of Moses reflects the seriousness of the people's apostasy. The construction of a molten calf was a blatant violation of the first two commandments (Deut. 5:7-10), and at the very moment when God had given the people the tablets of the covenant, they were found in the act of breaking it.[119]

It is also significant in Deuteronomy that Moses is described as breaking the tablets "before the eyes of the people," not simply at the foot of the mountain. The phrase "before your eyes" implies the sense of witness.[120]

Moses' approach to the camp (Exod. 32:19a) is not mentioned in Deuteronomy. Hahn thinks that Exodus and Deuteronomy locate the breaking of the tablets in two different places, and he argues that the description of Moses' approach to the camp [וַיְהִי כַּאֲשֶׁר קָרַב אֶל־הַמַּחֲנֶה] in Exodus 32:19a has been deleted in Deuteronomy 9:16 because of the change of scene in Deuteronomy from "close to the camp" (Exod. 32:19a) to "before the eyes of the Israelites."[121]

However, there is no need to find any conflict between the two reports. The place of the event can be identified as "in the camp," on the one hand, and also "in front of the people," on the other, and it is better to ascribe this difference to the different concerns of the two books. While Exodus relates the breaking of the tablets to the mountain which is the place of the revelation of the law (cf. Exod. 24:4), Deuteronomy makes a close connection between this event with the people's role of witness which is very much

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[116]A. Dillmann (1886: 280) notices that Deut. 9:17 "has been elaborated more distinctively and artistically" than Exod. 32:19b. See also J. Hahn (1987), 240.

[117]In Deuteronomy Moses does not mention his anger, unlike Exodus 32:19. Moses/Deuteronomy seems to try to avoid any possible misunderstanding of his anger described by Exodus narrator.

[118]Cf. G. J. Wenham (1994), 376. Cf. Deut. 9:17; 22:28; 1 Kgs. 11:30.

[119]D. L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1-11*, WBC (Dallas, Word Books, 1991), 190.

[120]Cf. Deut. 4:6 "before the eyes of the nations" [לְעֵינֵי הָעַמִּים].

[121]J. Hahn (1987), 240.

emphasised throughout Moses' sermon (cf. Deut. 1:30).[122] As Hahn says: "thereby all the Israelites become witnesses of the event, by which its meaning is significantly increased."[123] Now the people stand as the witnesses, not as the witness of the making of the covenant but as the witness of the breaking of the covenant.[124]

Exod. 32:20	Deut. 9:21
He took the calf that they had made, burned it with fire, ground it to powder, scattered it on the water, and made the Israelites drink it.	*Then I took the sinful thing you had made, the calf, and burned it with fire and crushed it, grinding it thoroughly, until it was reduced to dust; and I threw the dust of it into the brook that runs down the mountain.*

Exodus 32:20 and Deuteronomy 9:21 describe the destruction of the calf carried out by Moses. In Exodus the destruction of the calf follows immediately after the destruction of the tablets, after which comes Moses' confrontation with Aaron. In Deuteronomy the reference to Moses' intercession on behalf of Aaron comes between the destruction of the tablets and the destruction of the calf.

The juxtaposition of the Hebrew texts will be helpful for the comparison of the two versions.

Exod. 32:20	Deut. 9:21
וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הָעֵגֶל אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ וַיִּשְׂרֹף בָּאֵשׁ וַיִּטְחַן עַד אֲשֶׁר־דַּק וַיִּזֶר עַל־פְּנֵי הַמָּיִם וַיַּשְׁק אֶת־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:	וְאֶת־חַטַּאתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר־עֲשִׂיתֶם אֶת־הָעֵגֶל לָקַחְתִּי וָאֶשְׂרֹף אֹתוֹ ו בָּאֵשׁ וָאֶכֹּת אֹתוֹ טָחוֹן הֵיטֵב עַד אֲשֶׁר־דַּק לְעָפָר וָאַשְׁלִךְ אֶת־עֲפָרוֹ אֶל־הַנַּחַל הַיֹּרֵד מִן־הָהָר:

In Exodus there are five actions taken by Moses to destroy the calf, whereas there are only four in Deuteronomy. Exodus 32:20 tells us simply that Moses took the calf [וַיִּקַּח אֶת־הָעֵגֶל], whereas Deuteronomy prefixes to the calf a theological description[125] וְאֶת־חַטַּאתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר־עֲשִׂיתֶם ("the sinful thing [*lit.*, "your sin"] you had made"),[126] and

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[122]S. R. Driver (1902: 114) thinks the expression "before your eyes" is a deuteronomistic phrase.

[123]J. Hahn (1987), 240: "Die Israeliten werden dadurch alle Zeugen des Geschehens, womit seine Bedeutung wesentlich gesteigert wird." See also N. Lohfink (1963), 212; A. D. H. Mayes (1979), 200; S. Boorer (1992), 286, n. 188.

[124]S. Boorer (1992), 310: "it is likely that the expression לעיניכם ... has been introduced by the author of Deut. 9-10* to give the account greater legal precision."

[125]According to M. Weinfeld (1991: 412), the word חטאת "sinful thing" is Deuteronomist's typical expression for the sin of Jeroboam that caused the downfall of the Northern Kingdom (1 Kgs. 14:15-16; 2 Kgs. 17:22) and is used with reference to the golden calf (1 Kgs. 12:30; 13:34; 14:16; 15:3, 26, 30, 34; etc.).

[126]N. Lohfink (1963: 212) thinks this expression somewhat clumsy: "9:21 formuliert etwas umständlich."

positions it at the emphatic position at the beginning of the sentence.[127] Kalland notes that by adding "which you had made," the writer "contrasts the golden calf as a man-made piece of metal with the Lord himself as the Almighty Creator."[128] The whole Old Testament and especially earlier parts of both Exodus and Deuteronomy have made it clear that no such man-made "gods" were to be tolerated (Exod. 20:1-5; Deut. 5:6-8; 6:4-5).

For the second action Deuteronomy explicitly mentions אתו, the object of שרף, whereas this object is lacking in Exodus.

Deuteronomy expands the third of Moses' actions, making the description of the crushing of the calf more vivid and thorough than Exodus, and an extra verb כתת "to crush," an infinitive absolute of יטב "thoroughly,"[129] and ל + עפר "into dust" are added. Again Deuteronomy explicitly mentions אתו, the object of כתת, whereas this object is lacking in Exodus.

There is also a difference in the way the fourth action is described. In Exodus Moses scatters [וַיִּזֶר] it over the surface of the water, whereas in Deuteronomy Moses throws [וָאַשְׁלִךְ] its dust into the brook. זרה is fairly unusual in the Old Testament (x 39), and this is its only occurrence in Exodus. שלך is much more frequent (x 111), and is used with the general meaning "to throw." Austel explains that:

> The verb [שלך] is used in a wide variety of situations ranging from the physical act of throwing an object to the metaphorical use of abandoning or rejecting a person or thing (e.g., Gen. 37:20; Exod. 4:3; 7:9; Judg. 8:25). In Exodus 32:19 and Deuteronomy 9:17 Moses casts the tablets of the Law down to the ground as an expression of his wrath and indignation at Israel's defection from God.[130]

שלך is used by Aaron in his description of the making of the calf in Exodus 32:24: וָאַשְׁלִכֵהוּ בָאֵשׁ וַיֵּצֵא הָעֵגֶל הַזֶּה. Weinfeld makes an interesting connection between the verb שלך and the Josianic reforms:

> Exod 32:20 tells us that Moses scattered [וַיִּזֶר] the ground calf upon the water, while Deut 9:21 has, "and I threw [וָאַשְׁלִךְ] its dust into the brook [הַנַּחַל]." The deuteronomic formulation conforms verbally with the descriptions of the elimination of idolatrous objects in the Josianic reform: "He [Josiah] threw their dust [of the illicit altars] into the brook of Kidron [וְהִשְׁלִיךְ אֶת־עֲפָרָם אֶל־נַחַל קִדְרוֹן]" (2 Kgs 23:12) and "He threw its dust [of the Asherah] on the grave [וַיִּשְׁלַךְ אֶת־עֲפָרָהּ]" (2 Kgs 23:6). A similar procedure is ascribed to King Asa's

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[127]N. Lohfink (1963), 212: "Die konkrete Sache wird also in Deut in die Apposition verbannt, und zwar zugunsten einer juristisch-theologischen Qualifizierung."

[128]E. S. Kalland, "Deuteronomy," in *Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 80

[129]Inf. abs. הֵיטֵב is used here adverbially. See BDB, 406.

[130]H. J. Austel, "שָׁלַךְ" in *TWOT*, 2: 929.

> reform: we read that Asa burned the abominable image (מִפְלֶצֶת, prepared for the Asherah) in the brook of Kidron (1 Kgs 15:13). Moses' throwing the dust of the calf into the brook in Deut 9:21 seems then to be a reflection of cultic reforms in Judah and especially the cultic reform of Josiah.[131]

But the reverse situation is equally possible: that the subsequent descriptions of the elimination of idolatrous objects in the Old Testament originated from Deuteronomy, and it was Josiah who was imitating Moses.

The place where Moses disposes the powder from the calf is somewhat indeterminate in Exodus: "upon the face of the water." In Deuteronomy this becomes a more definite; the particular character of the water ("the brook") and its origin ("coming down from the mountain") are specified. Deuteronomy's specification of the origin of the water is usually understood as a clarification of Exodus 32:20 or "an embellishment peculiar" to the deuteronomic author.[132] The נחל ("brook") symbolises many things in the Old Testament.[133] In the light of the purpose of Moses' sermon the נחל that "comes down from the mountain" seems to symbolise the complete forgiveness of Yahweh, since the running river carried away the dust of the burnt calf which symbolises the people's sin.[134]

The drinking motif in the destruction of the calf does not appear in Deuteronomy. While in Exodus 32:20 Moses makes the people drink the water, in Deuteronomy 9:21 Moses merely throws the remains of the "sin" into the brook that runs down from the mountain. Since J. Calvin, many scholars sought to explain this difference between the two texts.[135] Keil and Delitzsch say of the drinking:

> The object of this was certainly not to make them ashamed, by showing them the worthlessness of their god, and humiliating them by such treatment as compelling them to swallow their own god (as *Knobel* supposes). It was intended rather to set forth in a visible manner both the sin and its consequences. The sin was poured as it were into their bowels along with the water, as a symbolical sign that they would have to bear it and atone for it, just as a woman who was suspected of adultery was obliged to drink the curse-water (Num. 5:24).[136]

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[131]M. Weinfeld (1991), 413.

[132]A. Dillmann (1886), 280. See J. Hahn (1987), 241.

[133]It symbolises, for e.g., the pride of nation (Isa. 66:12), the strength of the invader (Jer. 47:2), and the power of the foe (Ps. 18:5 [Eng. 4]; 124:4), God's pleasure (Ps. 36:9 [Eng. 8]), the paradisiacal rivers of delight (cf. Gen. 2:10), and the life-giving source (Ezek. 47:5-19). See L. J. Coppes, "נחל" in *TWOT*, 2: 570.

[134]See the function of the river (requital of responsibility) in the law concerning murder by unknown person in Deut. 21:4. Cf. W. Johnstone, "Reactivating the Chronicles Analogy in Pentateuchal Studies, with Special Reference to the Sinai Pericope in Exodus," *ZAW* 99 (1987), 26.

[135]J. Calvin (1979), III: 348-49.

[136]C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch (1981), I: 2: 226.

Many scholars have explored this issue, yet the investigations of this point led only to different results.[137] Hahn also suggests that the drinking motif in Exodus 32:20 can be understood as a preparation and carrying out of an ordeal.[138] W. Rudolph does not find any reason for the omission of the drinking of water in Deuteronomy 9:21, but regards the drinking water motif in Exodus 32:20 as "a later addition on the basis of Numbers 5."[139]

Recently Frankel drew a close relationship between the drinking motif in Exodus 32 and the ordeal by water in Numbers 5 on the basis of Exodus 32:26-29 and Deuteronomy 33:8-11.[140] Frankel finds the drinking water with the burnt and crushed calf bizarre, and he seeks to explain the significance of the drinking motif in connection with the ordeal by water in Numbers 5. He argues that the words of Exodus 32:20b are "not situated in their proper place" and reads verse 20b directly after verse 19 as follows:

> When he came near the camp and saw the calf and the dancing, Moses' anger burned hot, and he threw the tablets from his hands and broke them at the foot of the mountain. And he ground (them) to powder and scattered it upon the water and he made the Israelites drink it.[141]

Then he makes a close connection between the drinking motif and the destroyed tablets. As these tablets were the tablets of the covenant, Frankel makes a connection of this drinking motif with the curse. His explanation does not seem convincing. The only reason for the change of place in verse 20 is that this verse "does not explicitly mention the subject of 'that they had made.' " Then he finds a specific reference to Israel in verse 20b and replaces this with verse 20a. Frankel's suggestion seems to be attractive but we found no support for his textual emendation. So his solution remains questionable.

Those who find an ordeal motif in Exodus 32:20 split into two groups. Some make a connection with those killed by the plague in Exodus 32:35.[142] Others make a connection with the three thousand slaughtered by Levites in Exodus 32:28.[143]

Begg dissociates the motif of drinking water in Exodus 32 from the ordeal by water in Numbers 5:11-31, since he believes that there is no hint that the idol worshippers

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[137]See also S. R. Driver (1911), 353; H. Greßmann (1913), 204, n. 3, n. 4.

[138]J. Hahn (1987), 242. In spite of the disagreement concerning the age of the words of the "drinking of water" in Exod. 32:20, J. Hahn (1987: 243) believes that Exod. 32:20 was unquestionably the literary *Vorlage* to Deut. 9:21.

[139]W. Rudolph, *Der "Elohist" von Exodus bis Joshua*, BZAW 68 (Berlin, 1938), 51; Similarly C. A. Simpson (1948), 207; cf. E. Zenger (1971), 84.

[140]Weinfeld and Frankel understand water in this passage as the water through which Moses tested the people in Exodus 32. See M. Weinfeld (1991), 413; D. Frankel, "The Destruction of the Golden Calf: A New Solution," *VT* 44 (1994), 334.

[141]D. Frankel (1994), 334-35.

[142]For e.g., S. Lehming (1960), 19-20.

[143]For e.g., M. Weinfeld (1991); D. Frankel (1994).

were punished as a result of drinking this water. Begg thinks that Deuteronomy deliberately omitted the drinking motif to make the account conform more closely to the Josianic reforms.[144]

Phillips argues that the scattering into the stream in Deuteronomy 9:21 simply indicates the complete elimination of an abominable object.[145] Schultz thinks that the water drinking motif is left out in Deuteronomy because the main concern of Deuteronomy was the extermination of the idol, and the people's drinking of the water was only a connected subsidiary issue.[146]

Ehrlich, who assumes a fairly late date for Deuteronomy, suggests that Deuteronomy consciously deleted the water drinking motif, because

> later ... the view about the corruptness (*Verderblichkeit*) of the idol was much stronger. ... For our redactor an idol and everything that belongs to it was thought to be as חרם ... Under such circumstances it was not acceptable that one could give the golden calf, after it had been worshipped, as sample to the people, against which the older tradition had objected nothing.[147]

But this can only be speculative.

Recently Van Seters, who argues that most of Exodus was written by a post-exilic author, the Yahwist, who was dependent on Deuteronomy, has suggested that Deuteronomy 9:21 is influenced by the Deuteronomistic history (i.e., 2 Kgs. 23:6), and therefore the Yahwist imitates "the same Dtr procedure of cultic elimination except for the last item."[148] Van Seters identifies the water on which Moses throws the dust of the golden calf (Exod. 32:21) with the water flowing out of the rock in Exodus 17:1-7:

> ... the water that comes out is the source of the people's drinking water. So when Moses throws the dust of the golden calf in this water the people have no choice but to drink it. There is no need to conjecture any special ritual or ordeal in the account ...[149]

Van Seters's theory, however, provides no explanation why the Yahwist should have changed the Deuteronomy account, which in this case is quite in accord, for example, with the Deuteronomistic history of the reforms of 2 Kings 23:6.

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[144]C. T. Begg, "The Destruction of the Calf (Exod 32,20/Deut 9,21)," in *Das Deuteronomium: Entstehung, Gestalt und Botschaft*, ed. by Norbert Lohfink (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1985), 236.

[145]A. Phillips, *Deuteronomy*, CBC (Cambridge: CUP, 1973), 72: "the remains of the calf are thrown into the torrent ... thereby ensuring that this abominable object should be carried away from the holy mountain and disappear without trace."

[146]F. W. Schultz, *Das Deuteronomium* (Berlin, 1859), 354f: "*nur anschliessende Nebenhandlung*."

[147]A. B. Ehrlich (1908), 2: 277 (Translation mine).

[148]J. Van Seters (1994), 307.

[149]J. Van Seters (1994), 307.

Instead of attributing the drinking motif simply to a later addition or deletion, it is more desirable to explain the drinking motif by paying attention to the context of each passage. Exodus emphasizes the seriousness of the sin that the people committed.[150] The most probable explanation is that we should understand the drinking motif as a sign of bearing of their own sin. On the other hand, Deuteronomy emphasises the unworthiness of the people to receive Yahweh's gift of the land and at the same time Yahweh's grace which extends to the people who do not deserve to receive it. The river in Deuteronomy 9:21 clearly indicates that the abominable remains of the calf which were thrown into the river were carried away without trace.[151] As Boorer remarks, "the sin is destroyed rather than the people, and the way is clear for the final averting of the destructive anger of Yahweh and thus the restoration of the covenant."[152] Deuteronomy 9:21 clears the way towards restoration.

Exod. 32:21-24	Deut. 9.20
Moses said to Aaron, 'What did this people do to you that you have brought so great a sin upon them?' And Aaron said, 'Do not let the anger of my lord burn hot; you know the people, that they are bent on evil. They said to me, 'Make us gods, who shall go before us; as for this Moses, the man who brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we do not know what has become of him.' So I said to them, 'Whoever has gold, take it off'; so they gave it to me, and I threw it into the fire, and out came this calf!'	*Yahweh was so angry with Aaron that he was ready to destroy him, but I interceded also on behalf of Aaron at that same time.*

All the passages where Joshua and Aaron are referred to, are missing in Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy, however, reports Moses' intercession for Aaron, but this prayer is not mentioned in Exodus.

Moses' confrontation with Aaron appears only in Exodus, and traditionally many scholars have attributed this section to one of the older sources, E or J.[153] More recently, however, this section has been regarded as a later (i.e., non-source-specific secondary) insertion.[154] Some scholars also see a close connection between Exodus 32:20 and 32:35. Other scholars see Exodus 32:21-24 as an attempt to rehabilitate Aaron,[155] but W.

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[150]Immediately after the drinking motif Moses questions Aaron about his responsibility for leading the people into the great sin.

[151]A. Phillips (1973), 72.

[152]S. Boorer (1992), 287.

[153]For a list of scholars who advocate this view and their arguments, see J. Hahn (1987), 124-25.

[154]M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1948), 39, 58, n. 406 (secondary in E); idem, *Das zweite Buch Moses, Exodus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 200 (secondary in J); S. Lehming (1960), 48f, 50 ("Aaron III"); G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (Nashville and New York: Abingdon Press, 1968), 187; J. P. Hyatt (1971), 301 ("Es"); E. Zenger, *Das Buch Exodus* (Düsseldorf: Patmos Verlag, 1978), 232, attributes it to the redactor.

[155]For a list of advocates for and against this view, see J. Hahn (1987), 125, n. 171.

Rudolph's comment against this view is noteworthy: Aaron's apology is "so awkward and ridiculous that this passage cannot derive from the favourable perspective to Aaron."[156]

Some scholars argue that the conversation of Moses with Aaron should have come before the report of the destruction of the tablets and the calf (32:19-20), since Moses must have questioned Aaron before taking action.[157] Other scholars argue against this view and defend the logic of the sequence of the events as presented here in the book of Exodus.[158] But the hasty breaking of the tablets by Moses in Exodus 32:19 appears to support that Moses' confrontation with Aaron took place after, rather than before, the breaking of the tablets and the calf, and Valentin, for instance, argues that Moses' turn to Aaron after the breaking of these objects is "absolutely normal."[159]

In view of the absence of this section in Deuteronomy, some scholars have concluded that Exodus 32:21-24 did not exist in the *Vorlage* of the author of Deuteronomy 9. But it is noticeable that Moses does intercede for Aaron, even though the dialogue between Moses and Aaron is absent. Hahn thinks that although the detail of Aaron's role is not described in Deuteronomy, the mention of him in Deuteronomy 9:20 means that the sections of Exodus 32, which report about Aaron, must have been available to the deuteronomic writer even though they are not included in the text of Deuteronomy. This seems the most likely solution, since the intercession of Moses on behalf of Aaron in Deuteronomy 9:20 does not make any sense without presupposing Aaron's major role described in Exodus 32:1-6 and 32:21-24.

The function of Exodus 32:21-24 should be understood in the larger context of the Sinai account. For example, Moses' charges to the elders and Aaron in Exodus 24:14 also play a significant role in the Sinai narrative, and this way Exodus 24:14 prepares in advance for both the confrontation of the people with Aaron in 32:1-6 and a later confrontation of Moses with Aaron in 32:21-24. Moses' charges to Aaron (24:14), Aaron's leading role in the apostasy (32:1-6), and Aaron's pathetic excuses in these verses all hang together.

Yahweh's anger against Aaron and intention to kill him, and Moses' intercession for Aaron (Deut. 9:20) are missing in Exodus (cf., however, confrontation of Moses with Aaron in Exod. 32:21-24). Traditionally scholars have suggested that originally Moses' intercession for Aaron was embedded in the intercession for the whole people in Exodus

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[156]W. Rudolph (1938), 51. See also H. Greßmann (1913), 202, n. 2; H. Seebass, *Mose und Aaron: Sinai und Gottesberg* (Bonn, 1962), 40f.

[157]M. Noth (1959), 200.

[158]B. D. Eerdmans (1910), 73; R. Smend (1912), 170; H. Valentin (1978), 243.

[159]H. Valentin (1978), 243. After the exposition of the issues and various solutions, Hahn, still holding his view of this section as a secondary addition, acknowledges that the time of origin for this addition cannot be determined any more precisely. J. Hahn (1987), 126; also M. Noth (1959), 200.

32, and have advocated that Deuteronomy 9:20 belongs to that context.[160] Hahn criticises this as an effort to harmonise the difference between the two texts.[161]

Peckham, however, argues that Moses' prayer for Aaron is integral to Moses' prayer in the preceding verses (9:18-19) and cannot be separated from them. "It is introduced non-sequentially [וּבְאַהֲרֹן] so that this prayer will be understood as part of his intercession (9:18-19) and not as a separate and later prayer."[162] Thus the phrase וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֵלַי גַּם בַּפַּעַם הַהִוא (Deut. 9:19b) also covers Moses' intercession for Aaron.

Deuteronomy 9:20 is not fundamentally different from the tradition in Exodus 32.[163] Rather Deuteronomy 9:20 reveals the author's acquaintance with Exodus 32, since this verse presupposes Aaron's strong involvement in the making and worship of the golden calf. As Boorer remarks, Yahweh's anger against Aaron and Moses' prayer for him are "inexplicable unless Aaron's role in the apostasy is assumed."[164]

In spite of his leading role in the apostasy in Exodus, Aaron did not suffer any consequences of his action. This additional information makes clear why Aaron is not condemned, unlike those who were killed by the Levites (Exod. 32:27-29) or by the plague (32:35).[165]

Exod. 32:25-29

When Moses saw that the people were running wild (for Aaron had let them run wild, to the derision of their enemies), then Moses stood in the gate of the camp, and said 'Who is on Yahweh's side? Come to me!' And all the sons of Levi gathered around him. He said to them, 'Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel, "Put your sword on your side, each of you! Go back and forth from gate to gate throughout the camp, and each of you kill your brother, your friend, and your neighbour."' The sons of Levi did as Moses commanded, and about three thousand of the people fell on that day. Moses said, 'Today you have ordained yourselves for the service of Yahweh, each one at the cost of a son or a brother, and so have brought blessing on yourselves this day.'

The description of the judgement executed by the Levites appears only in Exodus, though there is a reference to the tribe of Levi in Deuteronomy 10:8-9, which may be considered parallel to some extent.

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[160]C, F. Keil and F. Delitzsch (1981), I: 3: 338; A. Dillmann (1886), 280; J. Wijngaards, *Deuteronomium* (Roermond, 1971), 96.

[161]J. Hahn (1987), 247.

[162]B. Peckham (1975), 34.

[163]E. Blum (1991), 286.

[164]S. Boorer (1992), 305. Boorer calls this phenomenon a "blind motif" which "assumes knowledge of an earlier tradition, recalls it in summary fashion, and goes on to use this assumed knowledge in the service of the particular argument of which it is now part."

[165]See J. Loza, "Exode XXXII et la rédaction JE," *VT* 23 (1973), 37-38; John C. Holbert (1990), 46-68.

The information about the origin of the Levitical priests in Exodus 32:25-29 has caused much trouble to historical-critical scholars. It is usually understood that Exodus 32:25-29 originated to legitimise the appointment of the Levitical tribe to the priesthood,[166] as an aetiological tale.[167] However, there are various significantly different suggestions for the solution of the problems raised by this passage.[168]

Greßmann believes that the distinction between Moses and Aaron or the Levites and Aaron is very old, because the later tradition does not recognise it any more.[169] Other scholars understand verses 25-29 as reflecting the historical background of the time of Jeroboam I.[170] According to this view, Exodus 32:25-29 was inserted to promote the claim of the Levites to serve as priests after their exclusion from the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan.

Perlitt, on the contrary, thinks the passage fits best the time of the reform of Josiah.[171] Noth considers verses 25-29 to be a preparation for Deuteronomy 18:1-8, where the exclusive priestly function is given to the Levites.[172] Kuenen similarly refers to the "preparation of the deuteronomic idea of the election of Levi to the tribe of priest" and therefore dates the origin of this material in the 7th century.[173] Kuenen sees verses 25-29 as an insertion from Deuteronomy 33:9 into Exodus 32:25-29 "in the vivid form of a fact"[174] for a preparation of the deuteronomic idea of the election of Levi to the priesthood.

Zenger says this passage is postexilic: "a postexilic hand has added an explanation of the Levitical priesthood in the story of exodus."[175] But Hahn argues against Zenger's

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[166]S. Lehming (1960), 41.

[167]H. Greßmann (1913), 211; C. A. Simpson (1948), 208.

[168]For a summary of various views, see J. Hahn (1987), 131.

[169]H. Greßmann (1913), 233. According to Greßmann, the later tradition mentions Aaron as Levite (Exod. 4:14 in secondary layer). According to H. Greßmann (1913: 215), however, Exod. 32:25-29 cannot be localised at Sinai. Greßmann notices, above all, the incomprehensible mentioning of the malicious pleasure of the enemies in the present context. According to E. Auerbach (1953: 145), the insertion of the Levites could also have happened in Kadesh; C. A. Simpson (1948: 219, 440ff) also makes a connection with Kadesh.

[170]M. Noth (1948), 160, n. 416: "arise from a polemical tendency against the non-Levitical priesthood of the country sanctuaries of Israel (cf. 1 Kgs. 12:31)"; S. Lehming (1960), 44; W. Beyerlin (1961), 152, n. 2; according to J. P. Hyatt (1971: 303), the story originated before the fall of Israel, but has been brought in the present form before the reform of Josiah; G. W. Coats (1968), 190.

[171]L. Perlitt, *Bundestheologie des Alten Testaments* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 209. Concerning the Josianic origin of Exodus 32:25-29, J. Hahn (1987: 131f) urges to consider a completely different priestly argument for this epoch, since, according to 2 Kings 23:9, the Zadokite priesthood in Jerusalem exercised a great influence.

[172]Cf. M. Noth (1959), 206.

[173]A. Kuenen, *Historisch-Kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, I: 1. Die Entstehung des Hexateuch (Leipzig, 1887), 235.

[174]A. Kuenen (1887), 235: "in die anschauliche Form eines Faktums."

[175]E. Zenger (1978), 288, n. 117.

postexilic dating, arguing that the priestly situation in the postexilic time is not sufficiently taken into account.[176]

Basically there is no reason to object to the view that this section provides the background for the origin of the Levitical priesthood. However, it is questionable to regard this section as a later addition. Verses 25-29 have usually been considered as a unity (apart from verse 25[177]), but most scholars regard the whole section as a later insertion in the basic narrative.

It is often disputed to what extent verses 25-29 were originally connected at all with the golden calf story. Some scholars strongly reject such an original connection between them,[178] while others regard this section as a semi-independent narrative which originally existed alongside the principal story and was later combined with it.[179] Some scholars think that Exodus 32:25-29 destroyed an original connection between verse 20 and verse 35,[180] though there is no consensus on this issue, and Noth, for example, does not take this view.[181] However, we should not impose our logic or modern narrative method on the biblical Hebrew narrative. Other scholars regard verse 20 as the judgment carried out by Moses, and thus think verses 25-29 are an unnecessary additional judgment.[182] On the other hand R. Smend comments: "That he [i.e., Moses] destroys immediately the bull idol in v. 20 ... and that he imposes a severe punishment in vv. 25-29, is, according to the analogy of Num. 25:1-5 [i.e., the account of the worship of Baal of Peor], absolutely indispensable here."[183] Noth suggests that verses 25-29 were added to compensate for a gap in the narrative, because the original version did not contain any reference to the water ordeal of verse 20.[184]

Various other inconsistencies are alleged by scholars. For example, Exodus 32:30-34 does not seem to know verses 25-29, because 32:34 seems to suggest that the sin of the people is not yet punished.[185] Secondly, according to Heinisch, the description

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[176]J. Hahn (1987), 132.

[177]Some scholars regard v. 25 as a part of vv. 21-24, because v. 25 connects smoothly with vv. 21-24 and describes well a logical consequence of what happened in vv. 21-24. Others regard Exodus 32:25b as a later addition to the vv. 25-29 (or 21-25). For a summary of the arguments for various positions, see J. Hahn (1987), 128.

[178]See J. Hahn (1987), 130. P. Heinisch, *Das Buch Exodus* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), 245: in any case the verses were "to be assessed as originally independent on anti-Aaron-polemic"; A. H. J. Gunneweg, *Leviten und Priester* (Göttingen, 1965), 35.

[179]E. Auerbach (1953), 139.

[180]G. Beer, *Exodus* (Tübingen, 1939), 155.

[181]M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte* (1948), 158f, n. 411: Noth regards v. 35 as an addition (not depending on v. 20). According to him, vv. 25-29 could "be easily inserted especially, because in the original report the speech does not mention of the necessary result of the cursing water" (Translation mine).

[182]G. Beer (1939), 153; C. A. Simpson (1948), 208; E. Auerbach (1953), 139.

[183]R. Smend (1912), 170 (Translation mine).

[184]M. Noth regards v. 35 as a late addition and excludes the possibility of the effect of the cursing water in Exod. 32:35. M. Noth (1972), 143, n. 411, 144, n. 415.

[185]Already A. Knobel (1857: 318-20) has denied vv. 21-24, 25-29 by allocating vv. 15-20, 30-34 to the principal narrator in Exod. 32. According to Knobel, the "gentle attitude" of Moses in vv. 30ff is not

of the people still in rebellion in verse 25 is in contradiction to verse 20 where all the Israelites immediately submitted themselves to the measures of Moses.[186] Thirdly there is no mention at all of the Levites in the previous sections,[187] for example 32:1-6 does not state that the Levites did not participate in the apostasy.[188]

Recently Johnstone proposed a quite different explanation for this passage, arguing that this passage is "P's entirely different account of and location for the vocation of the Levites from those in Deuteronomy 10:8."[189] His argument, however, is not convincing, since Exodus 32:25-29 and Deuteronomy 10:8 present a stark contrast in their function in the larger context of each book. The theological concerns of the accounts of the appointment of the Levites in Exodus 32:25-29 and Deuteronomy 10:8-9 are diametrically opposite. In Exodus, the appointment of the Levites is positioned in the context of the punishment of the people for their disobedience to the first two commandments.[190]

While the appointment of the Levites to the priesthood plays a negative role in Exodus, Deuteronomy's account of the appointment of the Levites is given in a positive context. In Deuteronomy this account is introduced after the renewal of the covenant. The author of Deuteronomy, who must have known the Levites passage in Exodus 32:25-29, now introduces again the same theme here but in a positive context in order to emphasise the grace of Yahweh. Thus Johnstone's argument cannot be sustained.

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compatible with the "cruel severity" in vv. 26-29; J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuch und der Historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin, 1889), 94; M. Noth (1948), 160, n. 416; W. Beyerlin (1961), 25; H. Valentin (1978), 250. See the discussion on Exodus 32:34 below.

[186]P. Heinisch (1934), 245. However, it is questionable whether one has to understand this narrative as a chronologically presented here. One may also ask, even if the events were presented here in a chronological order, whether they really contradict each other.

[187]E. Zenger (1971), 287, n. 117.

[188]C. A. Simpson (1948), 208; C. F. Keil (1996: I: 469) supposes that the Levites participated in the worship of the bull idol in Exod. 32:1-6, then only by the return of Moses they had made their mind more quickly to the recognition of their offence, to the repentance and turning back; cf. Hahn's exegesis on v. 26 (d) in J. Hahn (1987), 71f.

[189]W. Johnstone (1990), 78.

[190]In the context of the Sinai narratives, the people's disobedience to Yahweh's commandment makes a striking contrast with their own repeated commitment to obeying Yahweh's words after the announcement of the making of covenant with the people (Exod. 19:8) and before and after the covenant ratification (24:3, 7). The appointment of the Levites to the priesthood in Exodus 32:25-29 appears to signal the end of the prestigious position of Israel as the kingdom of priests. E. Blum (1991), 276: "Par «la chute» que constitute l'adoration du «veau d'or», Israël a perdu son innocence; jamais plus il n'est revêtu d'une dignité égale à celle qu'il avait auparavant." The indirect guidance of the angel of Yahweh in Exodus 32:34 (cf. also 33:3) makes more sense in the context of the Israelites' lost position as the kingdom of priests and the rise of the Levites to the priesthood on their behalf.

Exod. 32:30-31	Deut. 9:18
On the next day Moses said to the people, 'You have sinned a great sin. But now I will go up to Yahweh; perhaps I can make atonement for your sin.' So Moses returned to Yahweh and said, 'Alas, this people has sinned a great sin; they have made for themselves gods of gold.	*Then I lay prostrate before Yahweh as before, for forty days and forty nights; I neither ate bread nor drank water, because of all the sin you had committed, provoking Yahweh by doing what was evil in his sight.*

Moses' announcement to the people of another ascent of the mountain does not appear in Deuteronomy.[191] Exodus 32:30-34 is usually considered a unity by most scholars,[192] though sometimes only verses 30-33 are treated as a unity.[193] In traditional pentateuchal studies, Exodus 32:30-34 used to be allocated to the older pentateuchal sources, E or J.[194]

Moses' prayer for the people in Deuteronomy 9:18 has no parallel in Exodus. Deuteronomy describes Moses' prayer posture, period of prayer, fasting, and motivation for prayer. Though we do not find a parallel account in Exodus, Deuteronomy 9:18 does appear to allude to Exodus 32:31 for the following reasons. Firstly, the prayer in Deuteronomy 9:18 is referred to as Moses' second prayer "as before."[195] Secondly, Moses' acknowledgement of the people's sin appears in both Exodus 32:31ff. and Deuteronomy 9:18-19. In his first prayer, in Exodus 32:11-14, Moses had never mentioned the sin of the people nor forgiveness of their sin, but he appealed to Yahweh for a change of his intention only on the basis of Yahweh's faithfulness. Moses acknowledges the people's sin only in his second prayer in 32:31ff.

In both of his prayers, in Exodus 32:31ff and Deuteronomy 9:18ff, Moses confesses the sin of the people, intercedes on their behalf and receives the answer from Yahweh. Thus, though we do not have an exact parallel to Deuteronomy 9:18 in Exodus, we may conclude that Deuteronomy 9:18-19 are parallel to Exodus 32:30-34 in view of the content and the context.

In contrast to the brief description in Exodus 32:31a ("Moses returned to Yahweh"), Deuteronomy mentions in addition Moses' fasting for forty days and forty

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[191]Exod. 32:30-33:23 and some verses in Exod. 34 were dealt with together in the larger context of the prayers of Moses above.

[192]Many accept v. 35, at least partly, as an addition to Exodus 32:30-34. B. D. Eerdmans (1910), 74 (without v. 34); H. Greßmann (1913), 199f, n. 4 (without v. 34); C. A. Simpson (1948), 207 (without v. 34); some times a unity was also seen in vv. 25-34, cf. R. Preß, "Das Ordal im Alten Israel," *ZAW* 51 (1933), 125, n. 5; G. H. Davies, *Exodus* (London: SCM, 1967), 229.

[193]E. Auerbach (1953), 139; I. Lewy (1959), 319; S. Lehming (1960), 16-30, especially, 23ff.

[194]For a list of advocates of each view and the arguments, see J. Hahn (1987), 133-34.

[195]Cf. the expression "as the first" [כָּרִאשֹׁנָה] in Deut. 9:18 with Exodus 32:31, where Moses returns to Yahweh to pray for the second time.

nights.[196] With regard to Moses' prayer, while Exodus is concerned with the development of the logic of Moses' prayers (Exod. 32:11-13, 32-33; 33:12-23; 34:9), Moses' sermon in Deuteronomy is more concerned to show the seriousness of the people's sin. Moses emphasises that he innocently suffered on behalf of the people in order to avert Yahweh's punishment on the people. By describing his humble posture and his abstinence from food and drink for a prolonged period Moses appeals to the people's heart.

Exod. 32:32-34	Deut. 9:19
32) But now, if you will only forgive their sin--but if not, blot me out of the book you have written.' 33) But Yahweh said to Moses, 'Whoever has sinned against me I will blot out of my book. 34) But now go, lead the people to the place about which I have spoken to you; see, my angel shall go in front of you. Nevertheless, when the day comes for punishment, I will punish them for their sin.'	*For I was afraid that the anger that Yahweh bore against you was so fierce that he would destroy you. But Yahweh listened to me that time also.*

In the same way that Deuteronomy 9:18 alludes to Exodus 32:31, Deuteronomy 9:19 alludes to Exodus 32:32-34. Moses' fear in Deuteronomy 9:19a makes Moses' vicarious intercession in Exodus 32:32 understandable: "But know, if you will forgive their sin--and if not, then blot me out of the book which you have written!" Moreover, Yahweh's answer in Deuteronomy 9:19b reminds us of Yahweh's partial answer in Exodus 32:33-34.[197]

Exodus 32:34 is usually considered to contain many glosses from later times, but the extent of the additions has been assessed very differently. Hahn summarises various opinions as follows:[198]

a) Some scholars thinks that the clause, "My angel shall go before you" in Exodus 32:34aγ has been added from Exodus 33:2 and regard this as secondary.[199]

b) Exodus 32:34a is secondary, because the command for the departure is given twice in the context (also 33:1, 2a) and verse 34a interrupts the connection within verses 30-34.[200]

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[196]Different verbs are used with the expression "forty days and forty night" in Deuteronomy: אשב in 9:9 , היה in 9:11, נפל in 9:18, התנפל in 9:25; עמד in 10:10.

[197]In Exodus Yahweh answers to the prayer of Moses in a long speech, but in Deuteronomy 9:19 Moses briefly summarises Yahweh's answer.

[198]J. Hahn (1987), 134.

[199]S. R. Driver (1911), 356; M. Noth (1948), 33, 159, n. 414; idem (1959), 207; S. Lehming (1960), 50; D. M. G. Stalker, "Exodus," in *PCB* (London, 1962), 238; according to Zenger (1971: 86f), v. 34b connects badly itself to the promise of v. 34aγ. 34aγ has been, according to him, infiltrated from Exod. 23:23aα, the reason for this is the vague formulation אל אשר דברתי לך, which the annotator did not understand locally ("where I have said to you") but as a relative destiny of the people ("concerning it you have said: my messenger will go on before you").

[200]P. Heinisch (1934), 235.

c) The placing of verse 35 immediately after verses 30-33 may suggest that verse 34 is secondary, since according to Eerdmans this verse "breaks the connection and stands on one level with verses 7-14."[201]

On the other hand verses 30-34 have also been considered as a non-source-specific secondary supplement to the basic element of Exodus 32.[202] According to Holzinger, for example, the idea of the "book, in which Yahweh has written" (vv. 32f) originates at a very late date (cf. Ps. 69:29; Isa. 4:3; Dan. 12:1).[203] As we have already seen, 32:30-34 seem to be in contradiction to the alleged connection between Exodus 32:20 and 32:35.[204] Thus some scholars have pointed out that verses 30-34 seem to know nothing about the carnage in verses 25-29 and may therefore be seen as a continuation of verse 20.[205]

Many scholars have also observed the relationship of verses 30-34 to other sections in Exodus 32. There is a similarity between Exodus 32:30-34 and 32:7-14. The strangest feature of these verses is that Moses reports to Yahweh (v. 31b) what Yahweh had already told him in verse 8. From this, historical-critical scholars have concluded that verses 30-34 are independent of verses 7-14 and must have originated earlier.[206] In view of the history of tradition it is assumed that both intercessions are different arrangements (*Ausgestaltungen*) of a single motif of tradition.[207]

Investigations into the relationship between verses 30-34 and the previous verses 25-29 have produced a variety of conclusions:

a) Rudolph considers verses 30-34 to be a continuation of verses 25-29,[208] since, as Smend remarks, without the severe punishment in verses 25-29 "the intercession of verses 30-34 would be astonishing."[209]

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[201]B. D. Eerdmans (1910), 74, cited in H. Greßmann (1913), 199f, n. 4; C. A. Simpson (1948), 204, 207, according to him the verse reminds us of Exod. 23:20ff; I. Lewy, "The Story of the Golden Calf Reanalysed," *VT* 9 (1959), 321, attributes the verse to the deuteronomistic editor; against it, W. Rudolph (1938), 53, n. 1: not v. 34 but v. 35 is secondary.

[202]J. Wellhausen (1889), 94; H. Holzinger, "Exodus," in *KHCAT* (Tübingen, Freiburg and Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1900), XIX, 108; idem, "Exodus," in *HSAT(K)* (1922), 149: Holzinger allocates only vv. 32f to a "later hand"; R. H. Pfeiffer, "Images of Jahwe," *JBL* 45 (1925), 216; A. H. McNeile, *The Book of Exodus* (London: Methuen, 1931), 209 ("R^{JE}"); W. J. Harrelson (1962), 488; J. P. Hyatt (1971), 300f, 310f; E. Zenger (1978), 235 ("Je").

[203]H. Holzinger (1900), 112f; idem (1922), 151.

[204]J Wellhausen (1889: 94) thought that vv. 30-34 are as late as vv. 21-29.

[205]A. Knobel (1857), 320; similar to the result of W. Beyerlin (1961), 25-28.

[206]J. P. Hyatt (1971), 310.

[207]W. Beyerlin (1961), 25.

[208]W. Rudolph (1938), 52.

[209]R. Smend, *Die Erzählung des Hexateuch auf Ihre Quellen Untersucht* (Berlin: Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1912), 170.

b) Dillmann and others have considered verses 30-34 as a continuation of verses 21-24 without supposing the punishment of verses 25-29.[210]

Verse 34b has been considered as a key to issues of the time of origin of verses 30-34. However, the different interpretations, which are presented below, are incompatible with one another. The following is Hahn's summary:[211]

a) It was assumed that the threat of the punishment without promise corresponds to the situation after Jeroboam's establishment of the cult, and that the passage in verses 30-34 derives from the time before the end of the state of Israel: "this cultic apostasy still--so the author wants to understand -- must be paid, even though it does not seem so at the time."[212]

b) Many scholars have regarded verse 34b as prophecy after event (*vaticinium ex eventu*): the author is looking back to the year 722.[213] For this reason, they believe that this half verse must have been written "in the time of Hezekiah or shortly afterwards"[214] or "in the time of Josiah and the ruins of the Northern Kingdom."[215] According to Baentsch, the purpose of inserting verses 30-34 into Exodus 32 is to put "the mediatorship of Moses, who seeks to obtain his people's forgiveness and exemption from penalty by devoting his whole personality, in the brightest light"[216] or, according to Rudolph, to position "Moses here consciously against Aaron."[217]

Yahweh's reply in Exod. 32:33-34 has often been considered as a reference to the exile. If one presupposes a link with the calves of Jeroboam I, the Deuteronomistic author sees the sins of Jeroboam as requiring punishment, and therefore a fundamental factor leading to the exile of Israel (cf. 1 Kgs. 17:16, 21; 2 Kgs. 23:15).[218] On the other hand, the judgement of Yahweh (Exod. 32:35) and the judgement of the Levites (32:25-29) are often considered as a sign of composite traditions.[219]

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[210]A. Dillmann (1880), 342; H. Holzinger (1900), 108; B. D. Eerdmans (1910), 74, 98; G. Beer (1939), 153; J. C. Rylaarsdam (1952), 1069.

[211]J. Hahn (1987), 136.

[212]M. Noth (1959), 207; against him, see L. Perlitt (1969), 209.

[213]A. Kuenen (1887), 234; C. A. Simpson (1948), 208; L. Perlitt (1969), 209; J. P. Hyatt (1971), 310.

[214]A. Kuenen (1887), 234.

[215]L. Perlitt (1969), 209.

[216]B. Baentsch (1903), 269.

[217]W. Rudolph (1938), 52. Notice the comment of J. Hahn (1987), 136, n. 271: "This speaks favourably, according to him [Rudolph], that v. 30ff is not a later insertion."

[218]Cf. W. Johnstone (1990), 79.

[219]Cf. however, R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 59: "The word and act of judgement in vv. 34b-35 concludes Yahweh's immediate response to Israel's sin. ... It is hard to see this as a genuine difficulty. That judgement should be administered in more than one way is not unnatural. And given the divine-human balance in the narrative, there need be no problem in the fact of judgment administered through both divine and human agency."

Deut. 9:22-24

22) At Taberah also, and at Massah, and at Kibroth-hattaavah, you provoked Yahweh to wrath. 23) And when Yahweh sent you from Kadesh-Barnea, saying 'Go up and occupy the land that I have given you,' you rebelled against the command of Yahweh your God, neither trusting him nor obeying him. 24) You have been rebellious against Yahweh as long as he has known you.

Deuteronomy's references to other rebellious incidents during the desert period and comment on them are missing in Exodus. Deuteronomy 9:22-24 is usually considered a later addition in its context.[220] Boorer claims that verses 22-24 differ in "content and perspective" from the surrounding passages.[221] She also thinks that these verses interrupt the inner logic of the movement of Deuteronomy 9-10.[222]

The other rebellious incidents refer to various passages, some of which are mentioned in Deuteronomy, but some not. The rebellion at Taberah comes from Numbers 11:1-3, at Massah from Exodus 17:1-7 (cf. Deut. 6:16; 33:8), at Kibroth Hattaavah from Numbers 11:4-34, and at Kadesh Barnea[223] from Numbers 13-14 (cf. Deut. 1:19ff.).[224] All these examples are employed by Moses to make a significant point in his address: "You have been rebellious against Yahweh from the day I knew you" (9:24). In view of the people's history from the exodus onwards, it is evident that the gift of the land could not be seen as a reward for their righteousness, but only as evidence of Yahweh's grace.

Exod. 32:35

Then Yahweh sent a plague on the people, because they made the calf--the one that Aaron made.

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[220]M. Noth (1991), 33, n. 1; N. Lohfink (1963), 210-11, 290; G. von Rad (1966), 78; G. Seitz, *Redaktionsgeschichtliche Studien zum Deuteronomium*, BWANT 93 (Stuttgart, Berlin, Köln, Mainz: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1971), 57; A. D. H. Mayes (1979), 146, 201; G. Braulik, *Deuteronomium 1-16,17*, DNEB (Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 1986), 75.

[221]According to Boorer (1992: 279), the earlier level of Deut. 9-10 is concerned only with the incident of the breaking and renewal of the covenant at Horeb, whereas Deut. 9:22-24 refers to other incidents during the whole wilderness period.

[222]S. Boorer (1992), 279; see also N. Lohfink (1963), 217. Because of close similarities in content and wording between Deut. 9:7-8 and 9:22-24, Boorer (1992: 279-80) attributes Deut. 9:7-8 together with 9:22-24 to a later insertion.

[223]Yahweh's command at Kadesh Barnea appears in Deut. 9:23: "Go up and possess the land which I have given you." In Number 13-14, however, Yahweh's command is not the same one as in Deut. 9:23. Yahweh commands Moses to send spies to the land of Canaan (Num. 13:2). Deuteronomy refers to the incident at Kadesh Barnea several times (for e.g., Deut. 1:2, 19, 46; 2:14). In Deut. 1:20-22 a similar command appears. However, it does not come from the mouth of Yahweh but from the exhortation of Moses.

[224]The desert itinerary occurs also in the book of Numbers but is modified here. According to Exodus-Numbers, one can chronologically arrange the itinerary as follows: Massah (Exod. 17:1-7), Taberah (Num. 11:1-3), Kibroth Hattaavah (Num. 11:4-34), and then Kadesh Barnea (Num. 13-14). In Deuteronomy Moses seems to recall the various incidents from the less serious breach of loyalty to the most serious one for rhetorical effect. C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch (1981), I: 3: 338f.

Yahweh's further punishment against the people is missing in Deuteronomy.

This last verse of the chapter has been allocated to various sources. The presupposed affiliation to the previous sections is decisive in the allocation of this verse (mostly without v. 35bβ) to various sources. However, it is unclear to which section this verse is to be attributed. Hahn summarises various positions as follows.[225]

a) from time to time verse 35 was regarded as the direct continuation of the preceding verses 30-34 (however, in most cases excluding v. 34 or 34b) and discussed together with these verses. Consequently they are counted as E or J.[226]

b) the verse has also been considered as a "conclusion of the carnage" of the section vv. 25-29.[227]

c) verse 35 has been considered much more frequently as a continuation of verses (15-)20 or of verses 20-24 and recognised as E or J, the basic element of the chapter.[228]

A connection of verse 35 with the preceding sections, however, has been denied by others and assessed differently as a redactional addition,[229] a P-addition[230] or a Deuteronomic element.[231]

The last part of the verse, however, has been excluded by most scholars:

a) Some scholars think that the words אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ אֶת־ were added later in order to exonerate Aaron.[232] They eliminate these words and translate the verse as: "and Yahweh struck the people for the calf, which Aaron had made."[233]

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[225]J. Hahn (1987), 137f.

[226]For a further detail, see J. Hahn (1987), 137, n. 274.

[227]A. Knobel (1857), 320; against this O. Procksch, *Das Nordhebräische Sagenbuch - Die Elohimquelle* (Leipzig, 1906), 91: "In v. 35 Yahweh carries out the judgment, in v. 25-29 on Moses' command the Levites"; just as E. Auerbach (1953), 139.

[228]See J. Hahn (1987), 137-38, n. 277.

[229]A. Dillmann (1880), 343; R. Smend (1912), 170; O. Eissfeldt (1922), 274; P. Heinisch (1934), 235, 246; M. Noth (1948), 158f, n. 415 ("typical addition on the ground of the fact ... which is in fact extremely astonishing that a punishment does not follow in Exod. 32"); W. Beyerlin (1961), 25, 27f; H. Valentin (1978), 264f.

[230]I. Lewy, "The Beginnings of the Worship of Yahweh: Conflicting Biblical Views," *VT* 6 (1959), 319.

[231]H. Seebass (1962), 38; E. Zenger (1978), 235

[232]H. Holzinger (1900), XIX, 109; idem (1909), 135: he allocates the expression to E, which sought to release Aaron; likewise G. Westphal, "Aaron und die Aaroniden," *ZAW* 26 (1906), 212.

[233]H. Holzinger (1909), 135.

b) Verse 35bβ אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה אַהֲרֹן is seen as subsequent glosses or a later redaction by some scholars[234] who cite as evidence for this that Aaron did not originally appear in Exodus 32.[235] Other scholars allocate verse 35bβ to some other source: according to them, there are fragments of two narratives in verse 35.[236]

Against the exclusion of part of the verse, a different rendering ("and Yahweh struck the people, because they had made the calf, which Aaron had made")[237] or an alternative textual intervention ("because they had worshipped [ויעבדו for עשׂו] the calf, which Aaron had made")[238] has been proposed.

The main reason why verse 35 has been considered as belonging to another section or as a secondary supplement is because it seems to contradict the preceding verses 30-34 (especially v. 34b),[239] in which the judgment is still threatened at some time in the future, whereas it is immediately carried out in verse 35. Besides, two different verbs, פקד (v. 34) and נגף (v. 35), are used for the same action of Yahweh.

The punishment which the verse envisages has been variously identified:

a) it is not thought of "as a decisive catastrophe," which the narrative had not told us about, but as the affliction, which the people experienced some time during the wilderness journey.[240]

b) it is seen as the destruction of the Northern Kingdom, in which case verse 35 has been added after this catastrophe.[241]

2.3. Conclusion

As we have seen, there are many parallels between the accounts of the golden calf incident in Exodus and Deuteronomy, including several verbatim quotations from Exodus

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[234]B. Baentsch (1903), 274 (" the last part is a later correction of inaccurate mode of expression in v. b"); against Baentsch, A. B. Ehrlich (1908), 400; in favour of this, further S. R. Driver (1911), 357; H. Greßmann (1913), 199f, n. 4; C. A. Simpson (1948), 207; J. P. Hyatt (1971), 300; E. Zenger (1971), 87; M. Noth (1959), 209; H. Valentin (1978), 273.

[235]Cf. S. Lehming (1960), 45ff; H. Valentin (1978), 273.

[236]A. Dillmann (1880), 343; A. H. McNeile (1931), 210.

[237]A. B. Ehrlich (1908), I: 400; cf. the translation of U. Cassuto (1967), 424: "And Yahweh smote the people for which they had done in connection with the calf that Aaron had made."

[238]I. Lewy (1959), 319; so also the translation of R. E. Clements, *Exodus*, CBC (Cambridge: CUP, 1972), 204.

[239]H. Holzinger (1900), 108; S. R. Driver (1911), 356; W. Rudolph (1938), 53; M. Noth (1948), 159, n. 415; G. W. Coats (1968), 187.

[240]P. Heinisch (1934), 235.

[241]W. Rudolph (1938), 53.

(or Deuteronomy) (for example, Exod. 32:9b and Deut. 9:13b).[242] On the other hand, there are also many differences between these narratives: some elements are added, omitted, or even altered. We shall now make an inventory of the main similarities and differences between the two versions on the basis of our comparative study.[243]

2.3.1. Similarities between the narratives in Exodus and Deuteronomy

An indication of the very close correspondences between the two narratives can be seen from the following parallel passages. Discounting differences caused by viewpoint (Exodus is narrated in the third person, whereas Deuteronomy in the first person) we find:

Exod	24:12	24:18b	31:18	32:7-8a, 9-10	32:15	32:19	32:20	34:1	34:4	34: 28	34:29a
Deut	9:9a	9:9b	9:10-11	9:12-14	9:15	9:16-17	9:21	10:1-2	10:3	10:4	10:5

1) Both accounts report that Moses went up the mountain to receive the stone tablets of the law (Exod. 24:12 and Deut. 9:9a) and stayed there for forty days and forty nights (Exod. 24:18b and Deut. 9:9b).

2) Both narratives report that the stone tablets of the law were given twice. Yahweh gave Moses the first set of the stone tablets of the law before the golden calf incident (Exod. 31:18; Deut. 9:10) and the second set of the stone tablets after the incident (Exod. 34:28b; Deut. 10:4).

3) Yahweh commanded Moses to descend after the apostasy of the people in Exodus 32:7, 8a and Deuteronomy 9:12. Here Yahweh's descriptions of the people's apostasy in Exodus and Deuteronomy are in almost literal correspondence.

4) Yahweh's speeches in Exodus 32:9 and Deuteronomy 9:13 are exactly the same. These literal correspondences between the Exodus account and the Deuteronomy account mean there must be a literary relationship between them.

5) The two versions describe Moses' descent from the mountain identically except for the differences in the narrator's viewpoint (Exod. 32:15a and Deut. 9:15).

6) The two versions (Exod. 32:19b and Deut. 9:17) describe Moses' breaking of the stone tablets by using the same vocabulary (שׁלך and שׁבר).

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[242]The direct parallel to Exod. 32-34* is found in Deut. 9:9-10:11.

[243]For convinience' sake the similarities and differences between Exod. 33-34 and Deut. 10 will also be dealt with here, though the comparative analysis on these chapters has not been discussed above.

7) There are considerable verbal similarities in the accounts of the destruction of the calf in Exodus 32:20 and Deuteronomy 9:21.[244] Moses does five acts in relation to the destruction of the calf in Exodus, whereas Deuteronomy 9:21 reports four actions. A series of similarities between the two verses, where four measures out of five are similar and in the same order, strongly suggests the literary dependence of the one on the other.

8) Both versions report the renewal of the stone tablets (Exod. 34:1 and Deut. 10:1-2) and Moses' coming down from the mountain with the stone tablets (Exod. 34:29a and Deut. 10:5).

Such close correspondences strongly indicate that there must be a literary dependence of one on the other. Not only the similarities but also the differences between the two versions indicate, in some cases, a close literary relationship.

2.3.2. Differences between the narratives in Exodus and Deuteronomy

There are three kinds of differences between the accounts in Exodus and Deuteronomy: elements unique to Deuteronomy (i.e., Deuteronomy's pluses), elements unique to Exodus (i.e., Deuteronomy's minuses), and related alterations (i.e., changes of sequences, themes, etc.).

2.3.2.1. Elements unique to Deuteronomy: Deuteronomy's pluses

1) The expression "the tablets of the covenant." The passage, "the tablets of the covenant which Yahweh has made with you" in Deuteronomy 9:9 and the theme of the "tablets of the covenant" in 9:11, 15.

2) Emphasis of "forty days and forty nights." Though Exodus mentions Moses' stay for "forty days and forty nights" on the mountain twice (Exod. 24:18b and 34:28a), Deuteronomy repeats the reference to "forty days and forty nights" (five times: Deut. 9:9, 11, 18, 25; 10:10).

3) The expression "out of the midst of the fire on the day of the assembly" occurs in Deuteronomy on both occasions of the giving of the stone tablets (Deut. 9:10; 10:4; cf. Exod. 31:18; 34:28).

4) Yahweh's anger against Aaron, his intention to kill him and Moses' intercession for Aaron in Deuteronomy 9:20.

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[244]For divergencies between them, see our discussion below.

5) Deuteronomy's references to other rebellious incidents during the wilderness journey and comment on them in Deuteronomy 9:22-24.

6) The making of the ark and the placing of the tablets in the ark in Deuteronomy 10:2-5.

7) The wilderness journey report and the account of Aaron's death in Deuteronomy 10:6-7.

8) The account of the Levites' responsibilities in Deuteronomy 10:8-9, does not appear in Exodus.

9) The summary statement of the answer to Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 10:10.

10) Yahweh's command to depart after his answer to Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 10:11 does not occur in Exodus.

2.3.2.2. Elements unique to Exodus: Deuteronomy's minuses

1) In Exodus 24:13 Moses is accompanied by Joshua.

2) Moses' instruction to the elders in Exodus 24:14.

3) The cloud/fire theophany in Exodus 24:15-18 and the description of Moses' entering in the midst of cloud in Exodus 24:15-18.

4) The description of the apostasy in Exodus 32:1-6.

5) Yahweh's description of the people's apostasy in his speech to Moses (Exod. 32:8b).

6) The detailed description of the inscription on the tablets in Exodus 32:15b-16.

7) Moses' conversation with Joshua in Exodus 32:17-18.

8) Moses' approach to the camp (Exod. 32:19a).

9) Exodus narrator's comment on Moses' anger (Exod. 32:19b) has no parallel in Deuteronomy (cf. Deut. 9:17).

10) The final measure in the destruction of the calf--the drinking motif (Exod. 32:20bβ; cf. Deut. 9:21).

11) Moses' confrontation with Aaron in Exodus 32:21-24 (but cf. Deut. 9:20).

12) Yahweh's punishment of the people (32:35).

13) The whole of Exodus 33: the people's mourning and stripping off their ornaments after Yahweh's announcement of a limited guidance by an angel (33:1-6), the account of the tent of meeting (33:7-11), Moses' intercession for the people (33:12-23).

14) Yahweh's command to Moses to prepare for the theophany (Exod. 34:2-3).

15) The theophany and Moses' response to it (34:5-9).

16) The whole process of the renewal of the covenant--Yahweh's announcement of the renewal of the covenant (Exod. 34:10); the covenant law (34:11-26); and Moses' writing of the words (34:27).

17) The account of Moses' fasting for forty days and forty nights after the renewal of the covenant (Exod. 34:28a).[245]

18) The account of Moses' shining face (34:29b-35).

2.3.2.3. Modified elements

There are other materials whose sequence has been changed in the course of the story (such as Moses' prayer in Exod. 32:11-14 and Deut. 9:26-29), but which share a common theme (for example, the question of Aaron's responsibility in Exod. 32:21-24 and Deut. 9:20; investiture of the Levites in Exod. 32:25-29 and Deut. 10:8-9).

1) Moses' prayer. In Exodus Moses' intercession in Exodus 32:11-13 follows immediately on Yahweh's speech in Exodus 32:7-10. While this prayer is not reported in Deuteronomy (cf. Deut. 9:12-14), a prayer which is very similar in terms of its content and vocabulary appears in Deuteronomy 9:25-29.[246]

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[245]Cf., however, five occurrences of the expression "forty days and forty nights" and two occurrences of Moses' fasting in different context in Deuteronomy.

[246]Deut. 9:28 seems to combine two different motifs from Exod. 32:12 and Num. 14:16, respectively: the malicious intent of Yahweh behind the exodus (Exod. 32:12) and the inability of Yahweh to bring them to the promised land. This observation suggests that Deuteronomy is later than Exodus and Numbers. S. Boorer (1992), 304: "[I]n Deut. 9:28 there is in combination a motif from the parallel in Ex 32:12 and a motif from Num 14:16. This strongly suggests that Deut 9-10* has combined or conflated motifs and expressions earlier existing separately in Ex 32-34* and Num 14:16."

Moses' prayers in Exodus (Exod. 32:11-13, 30-34; 33:12-23; 34:9) are always presented in dialogue between Moses and Yahweh, whereas Moses' prayers in Deuteronomy are reported in summary form (Deut. 9:18-21).

2) The sequence of the events in Deuteronomy 9:18-19, 20, 21 is the reverse of that in Exodus 32:20, 21-24, 30-34.[247]

3) Yahweh's command to Moses to continue the journey to the promised land occurs before the renewal of the covenant in Exodus (Exod. 32:34; 33:1), but after the restoration of the relationship between Yahweh and his people, in Deuteronomy (10:11).[248]

4) Moses' "fasting." Exodus mentions Moses' "fasting" for forty days and forty nights only once after the renewal of the covenant (Exod. 34:28a), whereas Deuteronomy mentions Moses' fasting twice, one on the occasion of the first receiving of the tablets (Deut. 9:9a), the other on the occasion of his intercession (9:18).

5) Deuteronomy's description of Moses' prayer posture in 9:18-19, the period of prayer, his fasting, and motivation for prayer are added to the accounts of Moses' prayers for the people (cf. Exod. 32:11-14; 32:30-34; ch. 33).

6) The judgement executed by the Levites (Exod. 32:25-29) is modified to a general comment that "at that time the Lord set apart the tribe of Levi" (Deut. 10:8-9).

7) Moses' announcement to the people about his ascent of the mountain to atone for their sin (Exod. 32:30), Moses' confession of the people's sin and intercession on their behalf (Exod 32:31-32), and Yahweh's answers to Moses' prayer (32:33-34) are significantly altered in the much less detailed passage in Deuteronomy 9:18-19.

There are other rearrangements or modifications of material, but they are not decisive for judgment on the literary dependence between the two versions.

In conclusion we can see that although the Deuteronomy account is in general terms briefer and is a more summarised account, this is not the whole story. The relationship between these two parallel accounts of the golden calf incident is to say the least a complex one. We shall now proceed to outline the history of reading the golden calf incident. We shall discuss what the source critics have had to say about the two

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[247]This is pointed out by S. Boorer (1992), 303.

[248]S. Boorer (1992), 304, suggests that this is because "Deut. 9-10* rearranged the order of elements in Ex. 32-34* in order to present a more cohesive argument."

accounts, particularly in relation to their relative dating, and the issue of which text is dependent on which.

Chapter 3

Source-Critical Readings of the Golden Calf Incident

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter we shall survey past studies on the subject of the golden calf incident, from early traditional readings to the mid-1980's. Our survey will reveal the complexity of the issues and the diversity of scholarly approaches and results at the present time. This will help us identify the problems which still exist and which still remain unsolved.

In recent years the study of the composition of the Pentateuch has become more complicated than ever before and many monographs on this subject have come out during the last twenty years or so.[1] The complexity of the issues and the vast range of literature on the subject make an exhaustive survey of the study of the Pentateuch impossible, and would only serve to obscure our purpose.[2] Our aim in this chapter is to delineate briefly the study of the relationship between the two versions up to the 1970's, and then move on to survey the more recent studies on this issue.

Our survey will be selective, for various reasons. Explanations of the differences between the two versions are inevitably dependent on how the interpreter understands the origin and composition of Exodus and Deuteronomy, and this in turn cannot be separated from the wider problems of pentateuchal studies as a whole.

To discover what source criticism can offer as an interpretative method, we shall take an example of an issue of particular significance and address the question of the relative date of the two accounts. Can we say with assurance which text came first, and do all the critics agree on the issue?

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[1]See, for example, H. H. Schmid, *Der sogenannte Jahwist: Beobachtungen und Fragen zur Pentateuchforschung* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1976); R. Rendtorff, *Das Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch*, BZAW 147 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1977) [Eng. translation in 1990]; E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte*, WMANT 57 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1984); idem, *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch*, BZAW 189 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1990); R. N. Whybray, *The Making of the Pentateuch: A Methodological Study*, JSOTS 53 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987); C. Levin, *Der Jahwist*, FRLANT 157 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), and J. Van Seters's works in 1975, 1983, 1992, and 1994.

[2]This kind of work requires a full-length monograph. See, for e.g., R. J. Thompson, *Moses and the Law in a Century of Criticism since Graf*, SVT 19 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970); C. Houtman, *Der Pentateuch: Die Geschichte seiner Erforschung neben einer Auswertung*. Contribution to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 9 (Kampen: Kok, 1994). Houtman surveys the history of the study of the Pentateuch since the first century A.D. to the present time. In Houtman's view the Pentateuch was written in Palestine by the same author(s) of Joshua-2 Kings in the middle of the sixth century B.C.

3.2. A history of reading the golden calf incident

3.2.1. Early traditional reading

Early Jewish and Christian tradition believed that Moses wrote the first five books of the Old Testament. The Jewish tradition of the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is extremely old, predating the New Testament period, and this view was shared by the New Testament writers.[3] A corollary of this view is that the Pentateuch is a unified composition and that the book of Exodus was composed earlier than Deuteronomy. This was because the book of Deuteronomy is presented as Moses' farewell sermons, which implied it was a composition from the last days of Moses, whereas the book of Exodus was his earlier work.[4]

Calvin, for example, assumed not only the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch but also a later date for Deuteronomy *vis-à-vis* the rest of the Pentateuch. As the title of his commentary, *A Harmony of Exodus-Deuteronomy*, indicates, Calvin tried to explain differences between the accounts in Exodus-Numbers and Deuteronomy assuming that Deuteronomy knew the accounts in the three previous books.[5]

3.2.2. The rise of historical-critical readings

The traditional Jewish and Christian view of Moses as the author of the entire Pentateuch was not essentially disputed until the Reformation, with a few occasional exceptions.[6] Mosaic authorship came to be seriously challenged during the Enlightenment period and various models were suggested to explain the origin and composition of Genesis and the Pentateuch. Knight concisely describes the quickening movement of source criticism in the eighteenth century:

> As early as 1711, the German pastor Henning Bernhard Witter, noticing differences in style and content and an alteration between divine names in Genesis 1-3, posited separate pre-Mosaic sources to explain them. The French physician Jean Astruc, writing in 1753, identified two major sources ("mémoires") and ten fragmentary sources and redactions of the Pentateuch. Their proposals were cast in a variety of theories that later became known as the "older documentary hypothesis" (Astruc, Johann Gottfried Eichhorn, and Karl David Ilgen), the

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[3]Philo and Josephus, the contemporaries of the New Testament writers, believed the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The Talmud also describes that the Pentateuch as being written by Moses. See R. J. Thompson (1970), 1.

[4]See G. J. Wenham, "The Pentateuch," in *NBC* (1994a), 47.

[5]J. Calvin (1979): III.

[6]G. J. Wenham, "Pentateuchal Studies Today," *Themelios* 22 (1996), 3; R. K. Harrison (1969), 3-11; 495-500.

"fragment hypothesis" (Alexander Geddes and Johann Severin Vater), the "supplementary hypothesis" (W. M. L. de Wette, Heinrich Ewald, and Friedrich Bleek), and the "new documentary hypothesis" (Hermann Hupfeld and August Dillmann).[7]

Real historical criticism began with de Wette. In 1805 in his doctoral dissertation de Wette adopted the method of historical criticism on an extensive scale. He set

> the law codes against the historical books of the Old Testament to determine their date of origin in relation to the *praxis* revealed at each period. Graf and Wellhausen were to popularize this method in their definitive works, but de Wette laid the foundations and much of the super-structure on which they were to build. De Wette's first result was that Deuteronomy belonged to Josiah's reform, rather than the Mosaic era, and was the latest portion of the Pentateuch.[8]

The linking of the book of Deuteronomy with Josiah's law book laid the cornerstone for later developments in pentateuchal criticism. Comparing the law concerning worship in Deuteronomy with other laws in the rest of the Old Testament critical scholars defined them as either pre- or post-Deuteronomic.

The widely accepted ordering of the Pentateuchal documents, JED and P, is due primarily to the brilliant advocacy of J. Wellhausen.[9] Wellhausen presupposed the conclusion of his predecessors that the basic composition was a Hexateuch comprised of four major sources, the Yahwist, the Elohist, the Priestly source, and Deuteronomy. Following the vogue of his day, Wellhausen, was principally interested in the reconstruction of the history of Israel,[10] and his famous *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* considered the Old Testament as a document which would throw light on this subject.[11] Though Wellhausen's documentary hypothesis of the Pentateuch was not altogether new, his theory immediately gained immense support from scholars because of the thoroughness and clarity of its formulation, combining various arguments developed by his predecessors with his own reconstruction of Israel's history .

When Wellhausen attempted to determine the relative chronological order of events and documents, the dating of Deuteronomy served him as a fixed Archimedean point of reference:[12] some sources preceded D and others followed. He assigned Deuteronomy to the time of Josiah, J and E to the period of the early monarchy, while P was thought to come after D, as the latest of all the pentateuchal sources.[13]

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[7]D. A. Knight, "Forward," in J. Wellhausen (1994), IX.
[8]R. J. Thompson (1970), 18.
[9]Cf. the Introductions of S. R. Driver (1913), O. Eissfeldt (1965).
[10]W. Brueggemann (1975), 15.
[11]J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*. Reprint of the edition of 1885 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994).
[12]J. Wellhausen (1994), 6-10.
[13]J. Wellhausen (1994), 7-10, 366. M. Haran (1981), 324; Z. Zevit (1982), 481-82.

The publication of Wellhausen's book undoubtedly marked an epochal paradigm shift not only in the study of the Pentateuch but also in the study of the Old Testament in general, since Wellhausen changed the dating of other Old Testament books. For example, in his view the prophetic books were all completed before the P material was written. Before Wellhausen the assumed order of the early documents was P-J-E-D.

> Prior to the 19th century, scholarly consensus considered both the Priestly documents and Deuteronomy to be Mosaic compositions; however, subsequent to the publication, in 1805, of de Wette's thesis that Deuteronomy was to be dated in the last half of the seventh century B.C.E., only P was dated early. After 1805, debate and discussion centered on the date of this source, until Wellhausen isolated and drew together the significant problems in the history of Israelite religion caused by its early dating and distilled the major argument resolving them. This involved an additional presupposition, namely that Israelite religion, of necessity, developed from a primitive state through a prophetic one into a priestly Yahwistic form.[14]

The narrative parts of Deuteronomy, in Wellhausen's view, were dependent on JE, and for example, he described in some detail how Deuteronomy 1 follows the JE account in Numbers 13-14.[15]

In Britain one of the fervent proponents of Wellhausen's theory was S. R. Driver. He identified various contradictions between Deuteronomy and Exodus-Numbers and provided a thorough investigation of Mosaic authorship. A comparative analysis of the law and the historical narratives in Deuteronomy and Exodus-Numbers led him to conclude that Deuteronomy came from a later period than that of Moses. Although he rejected the traditional Mosaic authorship, Driver did think most of Deuteronomy was almost entirely the work of a single author. He identified Deuteronomy with the law book discovered in the eighteenth year of the reign of king Josiah (2 Kgs. 22) and placed its author either in the reign of Manasseh or in the early years of Josiah.[16] Driver attributed the final redaction of the book to the P writer, but considered this redactor's role was minimal. He attributed only ten verses or so to P: Deuteronomy 1:3, the announcement of Moses' death in 32:48-52 and the actual report of Moses' death in 34:1a*, 5b, 7-9.[17]

Like Wellhausen, Driver placed D chronologically between JE and P. He compared the laws of Deuteronomy with the laws in JE and P, on the one hand, and the historical retrospects in Deuteronomy 1-3 and 9-10 with the parallel accounts in the

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[14]Z. Zevit (1982), 482.
[15]J. Wellhausen (1899), 198.
[16]S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (1902), xliv, xxxvii; idem (1913), 66-67.
[17]S. R. Driver (1913), 67.

preceding four books, and concluded that Deuteronomy is dependent on JE but independent of P.

In Exodus Driver identified the following passages within the golden calf narrative as by P: Exod. 24:15-18a; 25:1-31:18a; 34:29-35; 35-40.[18] While he attributed the rest of the material to J and E, Driver often admitted the lack of reliable criteria for distinguishing these sources. Johnstone's comment reveals this point:

> [Driver's] analysis of ... 19:3-24:18 and 31:18-34:28 ... is acknowledged by him to be provisional. ... 34:18-26, because it is parallel to 23:15, 12, 16-19, is attributed to J. 34:1-4, 10-28 must, then, in Driver's view, be regarded as J's original account of the *establishment* of the covenant at Sinai, which once followed 19:20-25; 24:1-2, 9-10, but which has now been displaced to Chapter 34 by the insertion in its place of the parallel material from E in 20:22-23:33; 24:3-8. In its new position it is used by the compiler to describe the *renewal* of the covenant: the terms of this 'renewed' covenant in 34:11-26 are described as 'ten words' (34:28); 'hence,' Driver cautiously notes, 'it has been supposed that these verses, though now expanded by the compiler, consisted originally of ten commands forming a "ritual decalogue" (as opposed to the "moral Decalogue" of ch. 20)' (*LOT*, 9th edn, 39).[19]

Although Driver saw the Deuteronomic account as closely dependent on the earlier narratives in Exodus and Numbers, he did identify various inconsistencies between them. He presented a synoptic table of Deuteronomy 9-10 and Exodus 32-34 as follows:[20]

Dt. 9:9 (to *nights*)	Ex. 24:12a, 18b	Dt. 9:25	[Resumption of v.18]
9:9b	(Ex. 34:28a)	9:26	(Ex. 32::11b)
9:10a	Ex. 31:18b	9:27a	(Ex. 32:13)
9:12	Ex. 32:7-8a	9:28	(Nu. 14:16; cf. Ex. 32:12)
9:13	Ex. 32:9		
9:14b	Ex. 32:10b (cf. Nu. 14:12b)	9:29b	(Ex. 32:11b)
		10:1a	Ex. 34:1a
9:15	Ex. 32:15	10:1b	Ex. 34:2
9:16	Cf. Ex. 32:19a	10:1c (the *ark*).	* * *
9:17	Ex. 32:19b	10:2a	Ex. 34:1b
9:18-19	Ex. 34:28 (cf. v.9)	10:2b-3a (the *ark*)	* * *
9:20	* * *	10:3b	Ex. 34:4
9:21	Ex. 32:20	10:4	Ex. 34:28b
9:22	See Nu. 11:1-3 Ex 17:7 Nu. 11:4-34	10:5, 6-9	* * *
		10:10(=9:18a, 19b)	Cf. Ex. 34:9f. 28a
9:23	[See 1:19, 26, 32]	10:11	(Cf. Ex. 33:1)

One of the contradictions which Driver notes is between Moses' intercessions in Deuteronomy 9:25ff and Exodus 32:11ff--different occasions but similar contents. In general terms he ascribed the differences between the Deuteronomy and Exodus versions to the particular characteristics of the author of Deuteronomy. Driver showed that the

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[18]S. R. Driver (1913), 32; W. Johnstone (1990: 64) substantially agrees with Driver's delimitation of P.
[19]W. Johnstone (1990), 64.
[20]S. R. Driver (1902), 112.

author of Deuteronomy had taken phrases which were originally used to describe one incident in Exodus or Numbers and re-used them in a different incident.[21] He concluded from this that Deuteronomy had reproduced the narrative freely from the earlier narrative with amplificatory additions.

A new paradigm of the relationship between Exodus and Deuteronomy was offered by Martin Noth in his *Uberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch* in 1948 (English translation: *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* in 1972). Until then most critical scholars had believed that the Pentateuchal sources J, E, D and P were also present in the book of Joshua, so that one could reasonably speak of a Hexateuch. In the same vein many scholars suggested the same kind of source analysis could be carried out on Judges-2 Kings. However, this view was abandoned with the publication of Noth's influential book, *Uberlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (English translation: *The Deuteronomistic History*), in 1943,[22] which proposed that Judges, Samuel, and Kings originated independently, but were subsequently edited by Deuteronomic redactor(s).

Noth's proposal was that the entire corpus of material from Deuteronomy to 2 Kings had been put together as a history of Israel from the conquest to the end of the monarchical period by a single deuteronomistic author during the Exile. This same author had composed Deuteronomy 1-3(4) and parts of 31-34 as the introduction to his History, using these sections to frame the already-existing Deuteronomy 4:44-30:20. Since 1943 the broad outline of Noth's thesis has come to be widely accepted.[23]

In his *History of Pentateuchal Traditions* (1948; ET. 1972), Noth confined his study to the Tetrateuch, which was logical, considering his view that the book of Deuteronomy belongs with the so-called Deuteronomistic History. On the one hand, Noth was a faithful follower of Wellhausen, since he held that each of the sources constituted a "literary work of sustained theological discourse."[24] On the other hand, Noth developed Gunkel's form-critical method and examined the pre-history of the material contained in the first four books of the Pentateuch. Noth accepted von Rad's hypothesis of the "little creeds" (Deut. 6:20-24; 26:5b-9; Josh. 24:2b-13), and attempted to trace the history of Pentateuchal traditions from their earliest preliterary period up to the time of the composition of the whole Pentateuch as we have received it.[25]

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[21]S. R. Driver (1913), 81; idem (1902), xiv.

[22]E. W. Nicholson, "Foreword" in M. Noth's *The Deuteronomistic History* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2nd ed., 1991), 7-9; cf. S. R. Driver (1913), 103-116, 160-203.

[23]Noth's "Deuteronomistic history" is now believed to have been composed in at least two stages, while the date of its initial composition is a matter of dispute. Cf. the so-called Smend school and Cross school. The Smend school proposes three exilic Dtr redactions, whereas the Cross school advocates double redaction (Dtr^1 during the reign of Josiah and Dtr^2 around 550 B.C.) See M. A. O'Brien (1989), 6-12.

[24]W. Johnstone (1990), 70.

[25]Noth's work is entirely directed towards penetrating behind the final text so as to reconstruct its origin and development. B. W. Anderson, "Introduction" in M. Noth (1972), xiv; R. E. Clements (1976), 25-26; R. N. Whybray (1987), 185-86.

Noth identified five great, but originally unconnected, themes in the Tetrateuch. These were (1) the promise to the patriarchs, (2) the exodus from Egypt, (3) the revelation at Sinai, (4) the wandering in the wilderness and (5) the entry into the land. He also claimed that various smaller traditions were added to these five major themes later. Noth believed in the development of a textual tradition.[26]

Following the thesis of von Rad, Noth believed that the theme "revelation at Sinai" was the last to join the circle of the Pentateuchal themes. This was because the covenant making and law-giving at Sinai does not appear in any of the so-called "short historical credos."[27] Noth believed that the story of the golden calf in Exodus 32 derived from oral traditions[28] and was added later to the basic material. Thus, according to Noth, the narrative of the covenant and apostasy at Sinai is later material ("filling out" or "enrichment") than the latest *major* theme, the revelation at Sinai.[29]

According to Noth, the story in Exodus 32 presupposes the golden calves of Jeroboam (1 Kgs. 12:28f). The apostasy of Jeroboam was transferred to Sinai and the sin of Jeroboam was condemned as a breach of the covenant with Moses as spokesman.[30] In particular, Noth saw the end of Exodus 32 as the threat of future punishment because of the "apostasy" of Jeroboam I.[31] Noth also found D in Exodus, 32:7-14, 33*, 34:1a, 4, and identified them as secondary supplements to the narrative.[32]

3.2.3. Collapse of the consensus

The documentary hypothesis provided a paradigm for the pentateuchal study until the mid 1970s, but has since been challenged from various sides. At present no scholarly consensus can be found in the study of the Pentateuch. One of the main factors which contributed to the breakdown of the widely accepted Wellhausenian model was R. Rendtorff's *Das überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem des Pentateuch* (1977). Rendtorff reviewed the two main streams of the Pentateuch study: Wellhausen's source criticism

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[26]B. W. Anderson, "Introduction" in M. Noth (1972), xvii: "His attempt is made along these lines: a) the priestly narrative [P] was the framework into which the old JE epic was inserted; at this stage, therefore, priority was given to P, with the result that the older sources appear as enrichments of the priestly narrative; b) at an earlier stage, J provided the basic narrative outline; therefore, in the selection of material priority was given to J, with the result that E was fragmentarily included as enrichment of J."

[27]As the covenant making and law-giving at Sinai does not appear in the so-called short historical credos (Deut. 6:20-24; 26:5b-9; Josh. 24:2b-13), von Rad concluded that the Sinai tradition was woven into the Pentateuch at a very late stage of its development. M. Noth (1972), 141; G. von Rad (1938), 3ff. [ET. (1966a), 3-8]. See also E. W. Nicholson (1973), 1-32 for the critique of this view.

[28]The Swedish scholar I. Engnell argued that the transmission of the material in the Tetrateuch had been oral until the time it had been redacted by P. See R. E. Clements (1976), 26. Cf. J. Van Seters (1994).

[29]M. Noth (1972), 65, 141-45.

[30]M. Noth (1972), 143. Cf., Georg Beer, *Exodus* (1939), 155f. Beer argued that Exodus 32 is older than and independent of Jeroboam's golden calf story in 1 Kings 12.

[31]M. Noth (1972), 144.

[32]W. Johnstone, *Exodus* (1990), 67-68.

and Gunkel's form-criticism, and noted that von Rad and Noth had tried to combine these two approaches to Pentateuchal study. Rendtorff criticised these scholars for failing to recognise that (in his view) these two approaches are incompatible. Rendtorff argued from the traditio-historical point of view that the four-document hypothesis is misleading and thus should be abandoned.

According to Rendtorff, the Tetrateuch was formed from complexes of the following traditions: (1) the primeval history, (2) the patriarchs, (3) the exodus, (4) the wilderness, and (5) the Sinai traditions. According to Rendtorff the Deuteronomistic redactor first collected these traditions and linked them together to shape the Tetrateuch, which emerged as a written work considerably later than usually thought. On the other hand, a continuous J source does not exist in Rendtorff's theory.[33] Boorer summarises Rendtorff's view as follows:

> The formation of Genesis-Numbers cannot be separated from that of Deuteronomy-Kings. The passages at the end of Numbers form no conclusion but point towards a continuation and reflect the same Dtr redaction that is at work in Deuteronomy-Kings. Dtr redaction reaches backwards into Genesis-Numbers and forwards into Joshua-Kings from Deuteronomy as the connecting link. In short, the process is the same throughout the whole of Genesis-Kings: Dtr hands collected, arranged, recomposed, and put together independent blocks of tradition throughout Genesis-Kings to form a sequential whole.[34]

However, a completely different view of the Yahwist from that of Rendtorff was offered by Van Seters who claims that J, the main source used in Genesis-Numbers, never existed as an independent source but was composed by a historian who lived in the time of the Babylonian Exile.[35]

More recently Van Seters[36] has also broken with the traditional documentary hypothesis. He not only repudiates the traditional dating of J during the Solomonic period but also tries to break the entire JEDP model as widely accepted since Wellhausen. For him, J is not a simple collection of traditional materials but rather a purposefully

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[33]R. Rendtorff, "The 'Yahwist' as Theologian?" The Dilemma of Pentateuchal Criticism," *JSOT* 3 (1977), 2-10.

[34]S. Boorer, "The Importance of a Diachronic Approach: The Case of Genesis-Kings," *CBQ* 51 (1989), 201.

[35]Van Seters is one of the scholars who have provoked turbulence in the study of the Pentateuch since the end of the 1960s. These movements have been summarised in articles, such as F. V. Winnett, "Re-examining the Foundations," *JBL* 84 (1965), 1-19; H. H. Schmid, "Auf der Suche nach neuen Perspectiven für die Pentateuchforschung," *Congress Volume Vienna 1980*, SVT 32 (Leiden, 1981), 375-94. Van Seters is heavily influenced by H. H. Schmid's *Der sogenannte Jahwist* (1976) and develops his theory on the basis of G. W. Coats' works (see 16 items in his bibliography in *The Life of Moses*), B. S. Childs' *Exodus* (1974) along with other his works, E. Aurelius' *Der Fürbitter Israels* (1988), and finally E. Blum's recent book *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch* (1990).

[36]J. Van Seters, "The So-called Deuteronomistic Redaction of the Pentateuch" (1991); idem, *The Life of Moses* (1994).

composed literary work by a theologian.[37] Van Seters questions almost all the historical- and traditio-critical results of past scholarship and tries to establish a new model.[38]

Except for a small number of fragments, Van Seters argues, there existed no substantial oral or literary source before the exilic historian Yahwist formed his literary work: J is an extensive creative literary work of the Yahwist. Van Seters denies the existence of the so-called E source altogether, and suggests a DJP theory. In Van Seters's scheme the DtrH was the first literary work, written during the exile. Next the Yahwist created an extensive literary work on the basis of the DtrH. J, the greater part of Genesis-Numbers, was created as a prologue to the DtrH. J is later than Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Deuteronomy, and the Dtr History, and is contemporary with Second Isaiah. Finally P was added to supplement J. Van Seters repudiates the view that P is an independent source but regards it as a redactional product of a later redactor. On the whole he maximises the presence of J and minimises the existence of P. He calls his own theory a "supplementary" hypothesis.

Van Seters's J is very different from that which was usually understood in the course of the history of the Pentateuchal study. J was understood as a source or a document by the advocate of the documentary hypothesis. In Gunkel's commentary on Genesis J was a "collector of sacred legends," and von Rad understood J as a theologian in the court of Solomon, and this latter view was accepted by many scholars. Now Van Seters's Yahwist proposes a re-interpretation of the ancient traditions at the end of the exile.

While Van Seters fully applies the historical-critical method to his analysis, he strongly rejects the tendency to find multiple redactional layers in the biblical text.[39] Van Seters's Yahwist has many similarities with Blum's D-*Komposition* (KD).[40] Most of the non-priestly texts are grouped in a late composition. The most significant difference is the dating: Van Seters's Yahwist is exilic but Blum's KD is post-exilic. Moreover, Blum more willingly identifies the ancient texts which are taken over by KD.

The starting point of Van Seters's arguments is his hypothesis of an exilic dating of Genesis-Numbers.[41] Once the consensus on the Graf-Wellhausen theory had been thrown into the melting pot, Van Seters recognised the difficulty in distinguishing the so-

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[37]According to Van Seters, the Yahwist created an antiquarian tradition, complementing and modifying the DtrH, and uses it as a channel of his theology. Most prominently, according to Van Seters, the Yahwist significantly modifies the Dtr's restrictive nationalism. Cf. R. Rendtorff, "The 'Yahwist' as Theologian?" *JSOT* 3 (1977), 2-10 and J. Van Seters's response to Rendtorff in *JSOT* 3 (1977), 15-19.

[38]According to Suzanne Boorer, Van Seters's view forms one of the four paradigms of pentateuchal studies along with J. Wellhausen, M. Noth, and R. Rendtorff. See Boorer (1989).

[39]J. Van Seters (1994), 457.

[40]E. Blum (1984); idem (1990).

[41]E. L. Greenstein, "Theory and Argument in Biblical Criticism," *HAR* 10 (1986), 86.

called common sources J and E, and perceived that the assumption of a series of redactors was built on the existence of discrete written sources J and E. To overcome these problems Van Seters conceived a model which explains the pentateuchal composition "not as a redaction of parallel documents but as an agglomeration of successive revisions."[42]

Once Van Seters had established his hypothetical model, he compared the Pentateuch with the rest of the Old Testament and tried to find certain parallels between them. Because of the striking anachronisms he saw in J and also the closest parallels with Genesis-Numbers in the exilic prophetic writings, Van Seters thinks the Yahwistic writing should be read against the exilic background.[43] In confirmation, Van Seters finds a number of major theological themes that address the religious concerns of the exilic period and the Diaspora community in the Yahwistic writing.

Concerning the episode of the golden calf, Van Seters argues that the versions in Deuteronomy are earlier than those in J,[44] i.e., Exodus 32 is nothing but a reworking of Deuteronomy 9-10 and 1 Kings 12. Observing the connections between the golden calf episodes in Exodus and 1 Kings 12:26-32, Van Seters argues that the Exodus account is dependent upon 1 Kings,[45] and especially draws attention to those resemblances in Exodus and 1 Kings which are not found in Deuteronomy 9-10. Incidentally he excludes the possibility of any early dating of Deuteronomy 9 prior to 1 Kings 12.[46]

According to Van Seters, the Yahwist goes further than Deuteronomy and DtrH in his emphases firstly on "covenant renewal" and secondly on the "divine presence." Van Seters thinks that the revelation of the divine name at Sinai (Exod. 34:6-7), which emphasises the mercy of God, has been taken from the "wisdom tradition" as a balance to the Dtr concern for divine judgment.[47]

Having argued that Exodus is post-Dtr, Van Seters examines the relationship between Exodus 32 and Deuteronomy 9-10 and observes that the episode narrated in

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[42]E. L. Greenstein (1986), 87.

[43]Cf. S. Boorer, *The Promise of the Land as Oath: A Key to the Formation of the Pentateuch*, BZAW 205 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), 28, n. 70.

[44]His treatment will be discussed in detail later.

[45]These are: 1) Aaron's/Jeroboam's proclamation, "These are/Behold your gods, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt." There is only one variation in the introductory word: אֵלֶּה in Exod. 32:4 and הִנֵּה in 1 Kgs. 12:28; 2) the fact that the calf/calves are made of gold; 3) the references to the offering of sacrifices and establishment of a feast. Cf. M. Aberbach and L. Smolar, "Aaron, Jeroboam and the Golden Calves," *JBL* 86 (1967): 129-40. Aberbach and Smolar observed thirteen parallels between the two texts and argued for the literary dependence of Exodus on 1 Kgs. 12.

[46]J. Van Seters, "Law and the Wilderness Rebellion Tradition: Exodus 32" (1990), 588-89; idem., *The Life of Moses* (1994), 299.

[47]J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses* (1994), 460, 465. Van Seters argues that the role of Moses as a mediator of divine grace and mercy is much more emphasised in J (Exod. 34:9-10) in comparison to Moses' role of admonishing and instructing the people in the law.

Deuteronomy is very sparse in comparison with that in Exodus 32 and concludes that Deuteronomy did not know Jeroboam's golden calves story. According to Van Seters, Deuteronomy has to be dated prior to Exodus, because, in the light of the importance of the golden calf story in the DtrH, the silence about the northern kingdom's apostasy in Deuteronomy and omissions about the detail of the calf story by Deuteronomy are inconceivable.[48] Van Seters's comparison of the parallel account in Exodus 32 and Deuteronomy 9-10 leads him to the same conclusion.[49]

Van Seters also examines the literary relationship of Exodus 34 with Deuteronomy 10:1-5, 10.[50] While most scholars accept that Deuteronomy 10 is dependent on Exodus 34,[51] Van Seters tries to show the dependence of Exodus-Numbers upon Deuteronomy. If he finds a similar idea or expression in Exodus-Numbers, he claims this as evidence for the Yahwist's dependence upon Deuteronomy. However, if he finds a certain idea which appears only in Exodus-Numbers but does not appear in Deuteronomy, he attributes this to a later development by the Yahwist.[52]

Though Van Seters calls his methodology a literary approach, he pays little attention to the final form of the text as a whole. The reason why he calls his methodology "a literary study" is not because of his concern with the final form of the text but because of his scepticism about the nature of the Yahwistic source.[53] His analysis is far from a synchronic study of the final form of the text as we understand it. He often explains the problematic issues raised by critics by appealing to the reconstructed text on the basis of his presuppositions.

Recently the French scholar Renaud offered yet another version of the composition of the golden calf narrative in Exodus.[54] First Renaud reconstructs the basic

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[48]Here Van Seters argues against mainly Aurelius' view that Deuteronomy 9-10 used the oldest level of the golden calf episode in Exodus 32. Van Seters argues that if Deuteronomy knew the calf incident in Exodus 32, how Aurelius' basic narrative (9:1-7a, 13-14, 26a*, 27(-28); 10:11) could not contain any traces of the northern kingdom's cult apostasy. According to Aurelius, the episode of the golden calf in Deut. 9 is not a polemic against the northern kingdom but the author of Deuteronomy borrowed the figure of Jeroboam and created Aaron's golden calf story in order to describe the ultimate fate of the people.

[49]Van Seters's analysis is dominated by his presupposition that Exodus was written later than Deuteronomy.

[50]Van Seters attributes most of Exodus 33-34 to J (33:1-4, 6-17; 34:1-35*). He regards only a small portion as secondary (33:5 as P; 33:18-23 as later addition which he judges entirely out of context). M. Noth, *Exodus* (1962), 253-56, regards Exod. 33:12-17 as a secondary expansion, 33:1-11 as a still later expansion. Cf. Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter Israels* (1988), 101.

[51]See, for e.g., A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (1979), 203-5.

[52]This can be illustrated in his discussion of the vanguard motif. He compares the "vanguard motif" in Exod. 32:31-34; 33:1-3, 12-17 with the same motif found in Isaiah 45:2 and 52:12. He claims the passages in Exodus are a result of the late development of the idea, so Exodus is written later than Deuteronomy. The close parallel idea of guidance, however, appears also in Deut. 1:30-33. He solves the problem by attributing these verses to a late addition. J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses* (1994), 332.

[53]Van Seters (1994: 3-4) says, "The present analysis of the Yahwist's 'life of Moses,' however, will not give grounds for any optimism in such [reconstruction of the figure of Moses and his time] an endeavor."

[54]Bernard Renaud, "La Formation de Ex 19-40: Quelques points de repère," in *Le Pentateuch: Débats et recherches*, edited by Pierre Haudebert (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1992): 101-33.

narrative of the golden calf episode from the common elements in Exodus 32-34 and Deuteronomy 9-10.[55] The basic text of Exodus 19-14 and 32-34 is as follows: 24:12, 18aα,b; 31:18b; 32:7, 8a, 9, 10, 15, 19, 20, 34:1, 4, 28; 29a.[56] According to Renaud, the basic narrative contains the minimum passages which are necessary for the narrative.

In order to identify subsequent redactions Renaud first compares the two versions of Moses' intercessions (Exod. 32:11-14 and Deut. 9:26-29). According to Renaud, the redaction of Exodus 32:11-14 is rhetorically well constructed, whereas the redaction of Deuteronomy 9 is simpler and more primitive. Renaud concludes: the redactor of the book of Exodus must have modified it and Deuteronomy preserves the original position of Moses' prayer.[57] Examining the ending of the narrative (Exod. 34:28 and Deut. 10:4), Renaud arrives at the same conclusion as Van Seters, that Deuteronomy is more akin to the original,[58] and that the text in Deuteronomy is older than its counterpart in Exodus. The latter is clearly more complete, whereas the former seems to preserve the primitive tenor.

According to Renaud, the first Deuteronomistic redactor (Dtr^1) of Exodus 32 inserted the episode of the calf from an ancient document, i.e., Jeroboam's golden calf episode in the basic text.[59] Renaud dates the *Vorlage* of Exodus 32 to the eighth century BC, and identifies the following passages as those which came from the *Vorlage* without excluding the possibility of Dtr^1's rearrangement: Exodus 32:1b-6, 21-25 (?),[60] 30-33, 35. None of these exhibit specifically deuteronomistic characteristics except "your gods who brought you up out of the land of Egypt."[61] Renaud finds Jeroboam's sin in the background of this episode, and this tradition in Exodus 32 serves as the paradigm of Israel's sins which eventually would lead to the fall of the Northern Kingdom in 722: Exodus 32:35 is therefore an allusion to the destruction of Israel.[62]

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[55]From his synoptic table he distinguishes four categorises: first, the common elements; second, the connected elements ("*des éléments apparentés*"); third, the elements proper to Exodus 32-34; and finally, the elements proper to Deuteronomy 9:9-10:11.

[56]Cf. E. Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter Israels* (1988), 68. Aurelius' *Grunderzählung* in Exod. 32 is as follows: vv. 1-6, 15a*, 19f, 30-34. He is not certain about vv. 17f, 21-24 and 25-29.

[57]B. Renaud (1992), 119.

[58]According to Renaud, Moses wrote the Ten Commandments in Exod. 34:28 and this is in flagrant contradiction to Exod. 34:1. Thus he claims that, on the one hand, Deut. 10:4 is original, on the other hand, Exod. 34:28 was modified by the one who inserted Exod. 34:27 where Yahweh commands Moses to write these words. Later Renaud (1992: 125) identifies this redactor as Dtr^2. For a support of his argument he refers to a double object of the verb "to write" in 34:28: "the words of the covenant, the ten words." According to Renaud, the additional phrase "the words of the covenant," which does not appear in Deuteronomy, originated from Exod. 34:27.

[59]B. Renaud (1992), 120-23.

[60]The parenthesis with the question mark is Renaud's.

[61]B. Renaud (1992: 123), however, mentions the similar expression in Hos. 13:14. He dates the composition of the book of Hosea in the eighth century and places the book of Hosea anterior to the deuteronomistic redaction.

[62]The following table is the Dtr^1 text of the golden calf episode in Exodus: 24:12, 18b; 31:18aβ,b; 32:1-6, 7-10a, 11-14, 15a, 19-20, 21-25 (?), 30-33, 35; 34:1, 4, 28 (with Yahweh as subject), 29a. According to this table both the basic narrative and the Dtr^1 redaction knew only the Decalogue. B. Renaud (1992), 123.

Renaud finds a thread of the "divine presence" theme in various parts of Exodus 32-34 and attributes these to a second Deuteronomistic redactor (Dtr^2). Renaud thinks, following the view of some scholars, that the theme of the divine presence originated in the Babylonian exile, and in the light of the prophetic writings the redactor interpreted the destruction of Jerusalem and the beginning of the captivity as the judgment on Israel for breaking the covenant. Dtr^2 is drawing an analogy between Israel's situation in the desert of Sinai/Horeb and that of the "desert" of the exile.

The question the redactor sees in Exodus is fundamentally the same one facing the people during the exile: is God really present in the midst of the people after the breaking of the covenant? Dtr^2 goes further than Dtr^1 in his perception of the gravity of the sin--the reconstruction of the new tablets is not enough to secure the future; more than the making of the new covenant (Exod. 34:10-28) is necessary. The redactor combines the ideas of Jeremiah (such as the new covenant in Jer. 31:31-34), those of Ezekiel or his disciples (see for e.g. Ezek. 36; peace in 16:59-62; 34:25-31; 37:26-27; and also the glory departed from the temple of Jerusalem in 10:18-22), with those of the Deuteronomistic History.[63]

In Exodus 32-34 Moses plays a prominent role as a mediator between Yahweh and the people,[64] and enjoys an intimate relationship with Yahweh. In Exodus 33:19-34:9 Moses experiences an extraordinary theophany. Renaud finds the promoted role of Moses in Exodus 32-34 and also in Exodus 19-24 (e.g., Exod. 19:9; 24:3-8). All the passages that relate to this theme he attributes to Dtr^2. In both cases Moses' role is related to the divine presence. According to Renaud, Dtr^2 took up the ancient document and positioned it to suit his own theological programme, just before the conclusion of the initial covenant (24:3-8) and the covenant renewal (34:27-28). The Decalogue is the only covenant document according to Dtr^1, whereas, according to Dtr^2, there are two covenant documents, the Decalogue and the covenant Code (the Book of the Covenant for the initial covenant; the covenant regulations in 34:11-26 for the renewed covenant).[65]

According to Renaud, the priestly redactor was responsible for the final form of Exodus 24-40. Renaud sees the narrative of the construction of the sanctuary (Exod. 24:15-31:18a* and chs. 35-40) as P material, and believes that this once existed independently, in parallel with the Dtr^2 redaction. The priestly redactor (according to Renaud) also shaped the present form of Exodus 24-32 by supplementing the following verses: 32:15b, 16; 34:2-3; 34:29b-35; and all the places where expression "the tablets of testimony" occur (31:18; 32:15; 34:29; 34:29-35).

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[63]For the influence of the DtrH on the Exodus redactor, see B. Renaud "Le concept biblique d'alliance à l'épreuve de l'exil babylonien," *Kekaritômènè. Mélanges. R. Laurentin* (Paris, 1990), 113-25.

[64]E. Aurelius, *Der Fürbitter Israels* (1988), 41-116.

[65]B. Renaud (1992), 127-29.

3.2.4. Synchronic readings

While historical-critical studies, which we have reviewed so far, are concerned with the issues behind the present text (i.e., sources, history of traditions, and redactions), quite different narrative approaches and literary critical approaches to the biblical text began to be developed in the 1970s. These approaches are primarily concerned with the analysis of the final form of the text. Scholars such as Licht, Bar-Efrat, Alter, and Sternberg,[66] claim that the interpretation of the final form of the text has priority over investigations "behind" the text. The unevenness of the text which up to this point had been considered an indication of the existence of different sources and redactional layers, is now to be accounted for in other ways according to these new narrative and new critical methods. A number of scholars have applied this approach to the narrative of the golden calf episode in Exodus 32-34.[67] Among these studies Moberly's work is the most thorough and prominent, and we will now turn our attention to his work.

Moberly's aim in his study is not only to demonstrate the unity of the final form of Exodus 32-34 but also to examine "whether an account of this unity as redaction is sufficient to do justice to it, and whether it may be possible, or even necessary, to maintain that the unity was substantially inherent in the tradition at the early stages of its history."[68] Moberly argues meticulously that Exodus 32-34 is not a collection of fragmentary traditions but reveals an impressive coherence and unity. Moberly's two-fold aim is affirmatively answered throughout the book.

Moberly criticises Martin Noth's *A History of Pentateuchal Traditions* as "a kind of literary archaeology."[69] As Childs points out, theological study with reconstructed sources inevitably makes one's theology hypothetical.[70] Although Moberly insists on the priority of a literary and theological exegesis of the text in its final form over an historical-critical analysis, he does not completely deny the necessity of the historical-critical analysis. He considers the literary, theological, and historical-critical approaches as "essentially complementary rather than in conflict with each other."[71]

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[66]J. Licht, *Storytelling in the Bible* (1978); S. Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible* (1989; in Hebrew in 1979); R. Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative* (1981); M. Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (1985).

[67]D. R. Davis, "Rebellion, Presence, and Covenant: A Study in Exodus 32-34," *WTJ* 44 (1982): 71-87; H. C. Brichto, "The Worship of the Golden Calf: A Literary Analysis of a Fable on Idolatry," *HUCA* 54 (1983): 1-44; R. W. L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God: Story and Theology in Exodus 32-34* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983); D. E. Waring, *The Nature of Yahweh's Relationship with His People: A Literary Analysis of Exodus 32-34*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. (Fuller Theological Seminary, 1985), E. G. Newing, "Up and Down--In and Out: Moses on Mount Sinai: The Literary Unity of Exodus 32-34," *ABR* 41 (1993): 18-34.

[68]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 13.

[69]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 16.

[70]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 21. See B. S. Childs (1977), 90-91.

[71]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 23.

Throughout his exegesis Moberly stresses the unity and coherence of the tradition, and for instance, disagrees with the source-critical argument that Exodus 34 is a J account of an initial covenant making of Exodus 19-20. Though Moberly accepts a certain level of source-critical and traditio-historical reconstruction, he strongly questions the distinction of J and E as independent and parallel accounts. Against Childs, who reads Exodus 34 as an initial covenant making account, Moberly insists that the golden calf story (Exod. 32:1-6) and the covenant renewal (Exod. 34) are not two different versions of the same event but two different and also strongly inter-related events with close literary and theological links. Moberly does not see the references to renewal in Exodus 34:1, 4, and 9 as problematic, i.e., as loose or secondary insertions, but as fitting naturally and smoothly into the context. For additional evidence he points out several distinguishing characteristics of Exodus 34: the privacy of the theophany; the particular stress upon the grace of Yahweh in Exodus 34:6, 9; and the heightened emphasis upon faithfulness to Yahweh in 34:11-16.

Moberly considers the laws in Exodus 34:11-26 are a recapitulation of the laws given earlier and argues against the view that these laws themselves are the original basis of a covenant. Strongly rejecting the late development of the Exodus 32-34 narrative as a whole, he advocates that the covenant renewal in Exodus 34 and the golden calf story in Exodus 32 belong together in the same tradition.

When Moberly comes to the relationship of Exodus 32 to the story of Jeroboam's golden calf in 1 Kings 12:26-32, he examines the literary, historical, and traditio-historical issues involved and concludes that Exodus 32:1-6 is older than 1 Kings 12. Moberly also examines the traditio-historical issue of the narrative of Moses' shining face (Exod. 34:29-35), but he does not find any reference to priestly masks in this section. He insists on the close connection of the theology and content of this section to the theology and content of Exodus 32-34 as a whole.

Though he admits a certain level of various traditions,[72] Moberly argues that "the literary and theological coherence of the final text is not simply a reworking of discrete and fragmentary traditions."[73] In particular Moberly strongly rejects any possible deuteronom(ist)ic redaction of Exodus 32-34.[74] Moberly thinks that Exodus 32-34 and Deuteronomy 9:6-10:11 did not emerge from the same hand or school, because he finds no theological common concerns in them except the motif of Moses as intercessor.[75]

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[72]For e.g., Moberly (1983: 183-83), considers Exodus 32:25-29 to be a secondary addition. He also admits that Exod. 32:30-33:6 "lacks that coherence which is characteristic of units in Ex. 32-34."

[73]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 182.

[74]See L. Perlitt (1969), 156ff; E. W. Nicholson (1973), 61ff; H. H. Schmid (1976), 83ff. for the deuteronom(ist)ic affinity of the Sinai narrative.

[75]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 184-85.

Despite many scholars' claim that Exodus 32-34 contains deuteronomistic language Moberly argues for the uncertainty of their claim. For example, עַם־קְשֵׁה־עֹרֶף is usually regarded as a deuteronom(ist)ic expression.[76] After a comparison of all the occurrences of this phrase in the Old Testament (four times in Exodus and twice in Deuteronomy 9:6, 13), Moberly concludes that the expression in Deuteronomy (9:6, 13) "is explicitly a recapitulation of the older tradition." In Moberly's view Deuteronomy 9-10 is literarily dependent on Exodus 32-34:

> The influence of Exodus upon Deuteronomy, rather than the reverse, would be the natural deduction. There are, of course, occurrences of the verb קשׁה in conjunction with ערף in deuteronomistic literature but they are neither extensive nor confined to that literature. The phraseology is a general Hebrew, not a specifically deuteronomistic, idiom.[77]

Moberly rejects the idea of a deuteronomic redaction of Exodus 32-34 on the basis of the same theological concern expressed in the parallel use of the paradoxical כִּי clause in Exodus 34:9 and Genesis 8:21. Referring to the studies of Anderson and Wenham, Moberly remarks that

> no one ... has suggested a deuteronomic redaction of the Flood tradition or that Gen. 8:21, even with its interpretative kî clause, does not belong to the older levels of the tradition. Until the accepted understanding of Gen. 6:5, 8:21 is overthrown, it provides strong evidence for the non-deuteronomic identity of the Ex. 32-34 redactor.[78]

Moberly suggests an early redaction of Exodus 32-34 which is distinct from the deuteronomic redaction. Moberly locates the redaction of Exodus 32-34 in the tenth century.[79]

> A tenth century redaction of Ex. 32-34 faces no obvious difficulty. If both the historical content and the literary presentation of 1 Kg. 12:26ff. is most likely subsequent to Ex. 32, and not vice versa, there is no element in Ex. 32-34, except perhaps 32:25-29, which need be taken to show knowledge of an historical situation later than the tenth century. Indeed much of the content of Ex. 32-34, especially the concern for a movable shrine, fits naturally into the earliest period of Israel's history.[80]

In our view Moberly is correct in showing that such complex hypotheses are unnecessary and unverifiable. We should view Exodus and Deuteronomy as complete entities.

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[76]G. W. Coats, *Rebellion in the Wilderness* (1968), 69.
[77]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 185.
[78]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 185. See B. W. Anderson, "From Analysis to Synthesis: The Interpretation of Genesis 1-11," *JBL* 97 (1978): 23-29; G. J. Wenham, "The Coherence of the Flood Narrative," *VT* 28 (1978): 336-48.
[79]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 185-86.
[80]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 226, n. 85.

3.3. The relative dating of Exodus and Deuteronomy

Our survey of historical critical study of the golden calf narratives has shown that attributions of the text to various sources, or to proto-Deuteronomic, or to layers of Deuteronomistic additions have produced no agreed results.

In more recent years, however, there has been a growing tendency to regard most of Exodus 32-34 as an originally unified composition. Van Seters is one of the advocates of this. In his recent book, *The Life of Moses*, Van Seters tried to show that most of the material in Exodus-Numbers is the comprehensive and unified work of one author. When Van Seters first offered a fresh approach to the composition of the Pentateuch in 1975,[81] McEvenue sharply commented on Van Seters's critique of the traditional documentary hypothesis: "The scholarship leading up to Wellhausen served to free Western man from a certain biblical dogmatism. Van Seters now frees us from a certain scholarly dogmatism."[82] Van Seters's *The Life of Moses* surely provides a better understanding of the unity and integrity of Exodus-Numbers.

Van Seters, however, comes to unusual conclusions about the direction of dependence between Exodus and Deuteronomy, because of his belief in a very late date for the composition of Exodus-Numbers. As we have seen, he holds that Exodus 32-34 is based on Deuteronomy 9-10 not vice versa. According to Van Seters, the Yahwist constructed his golden calf episode in Exodus using Deuteronomy 9-10 and 1 Kings 12:25-33 as his sources. He also thinks that the Yahwist developed further the theme of the covenant renewal and the divine presence than the other two accounts. We shall examine the literary relationship between them following Van Seters's discussion.

3.3.1. Van Seters's literary analysis of Exodus 32

Before Van Seters compares the literary relationship of Exodus 32 with Deuteronomy 9-10 and 1 Kings 12, he reconstructs first a "minimal text" of Exodus 32 as the starting point of his argument. He follows a widely accepted guiding principle, without subscribing to its legitimacy, that a basic narrative must be a more or less self-contained story and anything that "seriously disturbs the story line or is dependent upon a broader context becomes suspect as an addition."[83] His literary analysis is as follows.[84]

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[81] J. Van Seters, *Abraham in History and Tradition* (1975), 125-53.
[82] S. E. McEvenue (1977), 574.
[83] J. Van Seters, *The Life of Moses* (1994), 292.
[84] J. Van Seters (1994), 292-95.

Exodus 32:1-6, the account of the making and worship of the golden calf by the people, belongs to the basic narrative, says Van Seters.[85]

Many scholars suspect the following section, which contains a double divine speech Exodus 32:7-10 and Moses' intercession in 32:11-14, to be later Deuteronomistic additions.[86] Van Seters regards the first divine speech in 32:7-8 as basic, because these verses provide a smooth transition in Moses' movement from the top of the mountain to the valley. He only considers the second divine speech and Moses' intercession (32:9-14) to be problematic. However, as Van Seters considers most of Exodus 32-34 to be the Yahwist's creative work, he does not need to distinguish a Deuteronomistic redaction from the Yahwist's work. Thus, according to him, Exodus 32:7-14 is not secondary but belongs to the basic narrative.[87]

In the following section, Exodus 32:15-20 (which describes Moses' descent from the mountain and Moses' response at the sight of the apostasy on his arrival at the camp), Van Seters attributes the description of the tablets of the "testimony" (הָעֵדֻת in 32:15a, 15b-16) to P's later glosses. But he accepts the rest of the material in 32:15-20 as belonging to the basic narrative: Moses' descent from the mountain (32:15a*), Moses' dialogue with Joshua (32:17-18); Moses' approach to the camp (32:19a); the destruction of the tablets (32:19b); and the destruction of the calf (32:20).

Although many scholars regard the account of Moses' encounter with Aaron in Exodus 32:21-24 as secondary,[88] Van Seters defends the originality of this section to the context.[89]

The next section, Exodus 32:25-29 (which describes the punishment executed by the Levites and their consecration), is usually regarded as secondary because the text does not mention, either before or after the event, that the Levites had not been involved in the act of apostasy. However, Van Seters finds a close relationship of Exodus 32:25-29 to Moses' blessing on Levi in Deuteronomy 33:8-11 and argues that 32:25-29 is an expansion by the Yahwist of 33:8-11 (esp. v. 9 and the mention of the blessing in v. 11).

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[85]Cf., however, J. Vermeylen (1985) and W. Johnstone (1987), 30. Their views differ from Van Seters's.

[86]Exodus 32:7-14 is widely regarded as a later addition for the following reasons. First, this section seems to contradict the following section of Moses' discovery of apostasy (32:15ff). Second, this section contains awkward double divine speeches. Third, Moses' intercession is a doublet of Exodus 32:30-34. Finally, it contains Deuteronomistic language.

[87]Van Seters argues that the double divine speech in Exod. 32:7-10 is based on Deut. 9:12-14; the intercession in Exod. 32:11-12 is dependent on Deut. 9:26-29; Exod. 32:13 is J's own creation; Exod. 32:14 is also J's own work which is influenced from Jer. 26 and Amos 7. See J. Van Seters (1994), 311-12, 314.

[88]For e.g., M. Noth *Exodus* (1962), 244-45.

[89]See also B. S. Childs (1974), 561-62.

Thus, according to Van Seters, Exodus 32:25-29 is not secondary but integral to the Yahwist's work.[90]

Views about 32:30-35 vary greatly among scholars: in this section, we hear of Moses' second intercession and the plague sent by Yahweh. Some scholars regard the punishment in verse 35 as a result of the drinking ordeal in verse 20, and so regard verse 35 as original, and verses 30-34 as secondary.[91] Others regard Moses' intercession in verses 30-34 as original and consider verse 35 as secondary.[92] Van Seters follows the latter view.

To sum up, Van Seters reconstructs a basic text of Exodus 32 and, then compares this basic text with 1 Kings 12 and Deuteronomy 9. Van Seters's reconstructed basic text of Exodus 32 is as follows: verses 1-14, 15a*, 17-34. The rest of Exodus 32 (i.e., the description of the tablets of the "testimony" in vv. 15a*, 15b-16 and 35) are P's later insertions.

We shall now examine Van Seters's principal argument: that Exodus 32 is nothing but a reworking of 1 Kings 12 and Deuteronomy 9-10. We examine first the relationship between Exodus 32 and 1 Kings 12.

3.3.2. The literary relationship between Exodus 32, Deuteronomy 9, and 1 Kings 12

In 1 Kings 12:28 Jeroboam attempts to attract the people to his new cult centres of Bethel and Dan by introducing two golden calves with a declaration similar to Aaron's in Exodus 32: "Behold your gods, O Israel, who brought you up out of the land of Egypt" (1 Kgs. 12:28; cf. Exod. 32:4).

Van Seters was not the first scholar to be convinced of a close literary relationship between this text and those in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Aberbach and Smolar, for instance, observed thirteen parallels between the two texts.[93] Van Seters particularly draws our attention to three striking resemblances between Exodus 32:1-6 and 1 Kings 12:26-32, none of which are found in Deuteronomy 9-10:

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[90]J. Van Seters (1994), 316-17. Van Seters thinks that the aetiology on the Levites in Exodus 32:25-29 was created to explain the dissemination of the Levites as resident aliens with land from the text of Deuteronomy 33:9-11. He also thinks that Exod. 17:1-7 is an elaboration of the remark in Deut. 33:8.

[91]E.g., S. Lehming (1960), 19-20.

[92]E.g., E. Aurelius (1988), 67-68.

[93]M. Aberbach and L. Smolar, "Aaron, Jeroboam and the Golden Calves," *JBL* 86 (1967): 129-40.

1) Aaron's/Jeroboam's proclamation, "These are/Behold your gods, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt."[94]
2) the fact that the calf/calves are made of gold
3) references to the offering of sacrifices and the establishment of a feast.

On the other hand, he finds no similarities between Deuteronomy 9 and 1 Kings 12 apart from the mention of the calf.[95] Highlighting these parallels between Exodus 32 and 1 Kings 12, Van Seters claims that Exodus 32 is a combination of Deuteronomy 9 and 1 Kings 12 and that Deuteronomy 9 is not used as a source of 1 Kings 12: "It is hardly conceivable that both Deut 9 and 1 Kings 12 could draw upon Exod 32 and at the same time avoid having anything in common with each other."[96] With regard to the relationship between Deuteronomy 9 and 1 Kings 12, Van Seters excludes first the possibility of any early dating of Deuteronomy 9 prior to the writing of 1 Kings 12. Then he characterises the resemblances between Exodus 32 and 1 Kings 12 as the creation of the Deuteronomist and concludes that Exodus 32 *must* be post-Deuteronomistic and literarily dependent on 1 Kings 12.[97]

There are several problems in Van Seters's arguments. We shall first examine Van Seters's claim that Deuteronomy is not used as a source of 1 Kings and the late dating of Deuteronomy *vis-à-vis* 1 Kings 12. Van Seters's argument is similar to that of the dating of the synoptic gospels. But in the case of the synoptic gospels the resemblances appear on a very large scale throughout the three gospels. So, for example, the dependence of the gospel of Matthew on the gospel of Mark is fairly convincing, though there are some significant objections against it. In the case of the three golden calf narratives, however, especially when comparing Deuteronomy 9 and 1 Kings 12, a naive judgment about the literary dependence of one on the other on the basis of similarities or absence of similarities can easily be misleading. In the case of such an isolated episode of Jeroboam's golden calves in 1 Kings 12, several explanations may be equally possible. The fact that Deuteronomy 9 does not seem to have been used as a source of 1 Kings 12 does not necessarily prove that Deuteronomy 9 is later than 1 Kings 12: it is quite possible that the author of 1 Kings 12 could have written Jeroboam's story without having the golden calf episode in Deuteronomy 9 open in front of him to copy any of its phraseology. Thus Van Seters's late dating of Deuteronomy *vis-à-vis* 1 Kings 12 cannot be conclusively proved.

Secondly, with regard to Van Seters's proposal to date Exodus 32 after 1 Kings 12, the argument is circular. It proceeds in two stages. First he ascribes 1 Kings 12 to the

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[94]There is only one variation in the introductory word: אֵלֶּה in Exod. 32:4 and הִנֵּה in 1 Kgs. 12:28.
[95]J. Van Seters, "Law and the Wilderness Rebellion Tradition: Exodus 32" (1990), 587-89.
[96]J. Van Seters (1990), 588-89.
[97]J. Van Seters (1994), 299.

Deuteronomist. Then he affirms that Exodus 32 is dependent on 1 Kings 12, since Exodus 32 is post-Deuteronomistic. But first we must be convinced that Exodus 32 is actually post-Deuteronomistic. We should remember what he tries to prove here is why Exodus 32 is post-Deuteronomistic. Van Seters's analysis is primarily based on the assumption that "Exodus 32 is inspired by an account of Jeroboam's cultic reform," with the conviction that this assumption is a universally accepted one.[98] In Van Seters's view, to admit an earlier dating of Exodus is to believe "in an actual historical cultic reform by Jeroboam." Thus he has to deny the historicity of Jeroboam's golden calves story in order to eradicate the possibility of an earlier dating of Exodus.[99] In the following we shall examine Van Seters's claim that the story of Jeroboam's golden calves is a fabrication of the Deuteronomist.

3.3.3. Could the story of Jeroboam's golden calves be a fiction?

According to Van Seters, Jeroboam's cultic reform is nothing but a fabrication of the Deuteronomist and never occurred in the history of Israel, and furthermore, the bull in Hosea 8:5 and 10:5 does not refer to Jeroboam's calves but to the religious iconography used in some of the temples of the Northern Kingdom. Rather Hosea's denunciation of bull worship led to the use of the calf as a derogatory term in 1 Kings 12.[100]

Van Seters argues that Jeroboam's golden calves episode is hard to fit into the historical context, firstly because 1 Kings 12:26-32 is contextually inappropriate to the preceding verse 12:25: "Then Jeroboam built Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, and resided there; he went out from there and built Penuel." Jeroboam's golden calves have no apparent connection with the building of Shechem and Penuel. Secondly, Van Seters argues that the golden calves episode in 1 Kings 12 is incongruous in the light of the political hostility between the north and the south: Jeroboam did not need to worry that the northern Israelites might go to Jerusalem to worship, because relations between the northern and the southern kingdoms were in any case too hostile (cf. 1 Kgs. 14:19, 30; 15:6-7). Thirdly, Jeroboam's actions lack motivation, since Van Seters believes that there was no trace of centralisation of worship in Jerusalem before the much later deuteronomic reforms of Josiah. Van Seters also thinks 1 Kings 12 is anachronistic, since it appears to accept a regular annual pilgrimage to Jerusalem as an established fact after the construction of the temple of Solomon.[101] Finally, 1 Kings 13 which follows the story of Jeroboam's making of the calves and establishment of a festival in 1 Kings 12 is also anachronistic. Van Seters regards the calves incident in 1 Kings 12:26-32 as an

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[98]J. Van Seters (1994), 296

[99]See also H.-D. Hoffmann (1980), 59-73, 306-13.

[100]Most scholars, however, identify the bull references in Hosea with Jeroboam's bull. See R. E. Clements, *Exodus* (1972), 206-7; R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 168-71.

[101]See also H.-D. Hoffmann (1980), 64.

introduction to the story of the man of God from Judah which immediately follows (1 Kgs. 12:33-13:33). He then argues that the story was written after 621 B.C. because of the reference to the prediction of Josiah's destruction of the altar at Bethel (13:2; cf. also its fulfilment in 2 Kgs. 23:15-20) and the anachronistic designation of northern Israel as Samaria (1 Kgs. 13:32).

We do not find these arguments convincing for the following reasons. Van Seters's first point was that Jeroboam's building of Shechem and subsequent move to Penuel (1 Kgs. 12:25) is historically and contextually unrelated to the Jeroboam's calves story. Van Seters himself provides a possible explanation of the move to Penuel. He relates it to Jeroboam's conflict with Rehoboam and his son Abijam (1 Kgs. 14:19, 30; 15:6-7), and perhaps to the raid of Shishak (1 Kgs. 14:25-27).[102] Paul R. House, however, offers a more adequate explanation attributing Jeroboam's fortification of Shechem and Penuel to his military and economic interests, respectively. Shechem was an important strategic point, since it guarded the Northern Kingdom's west-east pass and commanded the road through the hills of Manasseh to Bethshan.[103] Keil tells us that Penuel "was on the caravan road, which led through Gilead to Damascus," so Jeroboam probably fortified the city "to defend his sovereignty over Gilead against hostile attacks from the northeast and east."[104] According to this interpretation, 1 Kings 12:25 describes Jeroboam's military and economic concerns, and the following verses his religious concern. These passages simply reflect the insecurity of Jeroboam's kingdom and how Jeroboam made efforts to stabilise his kingdom.

Van Seters's second argument was that Jeroboam's fear of the people's pilgrimage to Jerusalem is incongruous in the light of the hostility between the Northern and the Southern Kingdoms. This fails to carry conviction. 1 Kings 12:26-27 indicates that in spite of any tensions between the north and the south, Jeroboam did have reason to fear that the people would go to Jerusalem to worship, indeed the link between the two half-nations was so strong he feared for his life:

> Jeroboam says to himself, "Now the kingdom will return [תָּשׁוּב] to the house of David. If this people continues to go up to offer sacrifices at the temple of Yahweh, the heart of this people will return [וְשָׁב] again to their master, King Rehoboam of Judah; they will kill me and return [וְשָׁבוּ] to King Rehoboam of Judah" (1 Kgs 12:26-27).

Jeroboam's monologue implies that the people are capricious enough to betray Jeroboam and even to kill him. In fact, they were formerly Rehoboam's people but now

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[102]J. Van Seters (1994), 296.

[103]Paul R. House, *1, 2 Kings* (1995), 183; see also J. Gray, *1 and 2 Kings*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1963), 289.

[104]C. F. Keil, "I and II Kings," in *Commentary on the Old Testament* (1876; reprint, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 3: 198.

had become Jeroboam's people. Moreover, in 1 Kings 12:18 they recently killed Adoniram, the officer of Rehoboam. If the people rebelled against their former lord Rehoboam and tried to kill him, how can Jeroboam be sure that this people would not repeat the same thing against himself? This view can be supported by the use of the word שׁוּב, which appears repeatedly in 1 Kings 12. According to Nelson, the word שׁוּב is used "in an active sense" in the story of Jeroboam's golden calves (1 Kgs. 12) and in the story of a man of God from Judah (1 Kgs. 13) as well.[105] The motif of return is recurrent throughout 1 Kings 12 and 13 and the use of the word שׁוּב clearly demonstrates that Jeroboam's fear for the people's return to Judah is not incongruous but well rooted in the context.

Thirdly, Van Seters claims that there was no motive for the establishment of a regular pilgrimage to Jerusalem before the deuteronomic reform. However, it is highly probable that the worship and sacrifice held in the temple, which had been constructed only a generation before, would have held a special appeal. Contrary to Van Seters's post-exilic dating of the Pentateuch, we can find a clue that the author of 1 Kings 12 already knew his Pentateuch. 1 Kings 12:32 indicates that Jeroboam's institution of a new "festival on the fifteenth day of the eighth month" was inspired by the festival which was already held in Judah (כֶּחָג אֲשֶׁר בִּיהוּדָה). This festival was most likely the Feast of Tabernacles which was held on the fifteenth month of the seventh month (Exod. 23:16; 34:22; Lev. 23:33, 34; Num. 29:12; Deut. 16:13). Jeroboam seems to switch the date from "the fifteenth day of the seventh month" to "the fifteenth day of the eighth month." If Jeroboam (or the author of 1 Kings 12) had the Feast of Tabernacles in mind, there is no reason why some of the above-mentioned passages should not have been in existence either in the time of Jeroboam, or at least by the time the account in 1 Kings was written. Van Seters is therefore on uncertain ground if he tries to date 1 Kings prior to J on the basis of this argument.

Finally, Van Seters finds some anachronistic expressions and the accurate prediction of the destruction of the altar by Josiah in the story of the man of God from Judah (1 Kgs. 13). Then he denies the historicity of all the events in 1 Kings 13 and claims that the episode of Jeroboam's golden calves, which serves as an introduction to the story of the man from Judah, is also "a complete fabrication." We, however, should point out that Van Seters does not consider Hebrew narrative convention sufficiently and depends too much on his sceptical view of the prophecy. The use of the name "Samaria" (1 Kgs. 13:32) before its actual naming in the time of Omri (1 Kgs. 16:24) does not necessarily show the fictionality of this story. The use of Samaria in 1 Kings 13:32 need neither show the writer/editor's carelessness nor be a later interpolation. In the Old

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[105]R. D. Nelson (1987), 87. According to Nelson (p. 89), "the use of "turn/return" (*shub*) in this chapter resonates with the call for the exilic audience to repent (*shub*; 8:48)." Cf. the occurrences of שׁוּב in 1 Kgs. 13:4, 6 [x2], 9, 10, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 29, 33 [x2].

Testament the use of a later name before the actual change of name is not unusual.[106] The name "Samaria" could be well used in anticipation of the later change (cf. the use of Dan in Gen. 14:14; Judg. 18:29). Even if we were to admit a later insertion of the alleged anachronistic prediction of Josiah's destruction of the altar at Bethel in 1 Kings 13:2, this does not make all of the content of 1 Kings 12-13 a fiction.

To sum up, none of Van Seters's arguments for the fictionality of Jeroboam's golden calves story is convincing. His claim that the Yahwist created Exodus 32:1-6 using 1 Kings 12 as his source has to be strongly questioned. There is no reason why the opposing and more straight-forward view should not be held, that the story of Jeroboam's golden calves indicates knowledge of many of the earlier traditions in the Pentateuch. We shall investigate this point more in detail below.

3.3.4. The purpose of the story of Jeroboam's golden calves

According to Van Seters, the purpose of the "fabrication" of Jeroboam's story and placing the story here is twofold. Firstly, the story is created in anticipation of the Josianic reform, in order to justify the Josianic deviations from the deuteronomic code. According to Van Seters, the creation of the pilgrimage festival on the wrong date, the establishment of shrines on the high places, and the consecration of non-Levitical priests, of course, including the making of the calves, were invented by the Deuteronomist as errors imputed to Jeroboam, in order to justify Josiah's deviation (2 Kgs. 23:9) from the deuteronomic code's permission for Levitical priests of the local shrines to serve at the altar in Jerusalem (Deut. 18:6-8).[107] Secondly, according to Van Seters, the Deuteronomist's intention is not just to represent Jeroboam as the first worshipper of foreign gods but to portray Jeroboam as responsible for what follows in the history of Israel (2 Kgs. 17:21-23). Thus Jeroboam's story is not intended as polemic against the Northern Kingdom, but as the Deuteronomist's interpretative framework for the cause of the fall of the northern kingdom.[108]

However, the striking similarity between Aaron's proclamation (Exod. 32:4) and Jeroboam's (1 Kgs. 12:28) raises a serious question in our mind: what is the purpose of this deliberate imitation? Most scholars point out that Jeroboam would have not used the identical words that Aaron had used ("These are your gods ...") by chance, nor would he have used them if he was familiar with the negative implications of the rebellion at Sinai as reported in Exodus 32.

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[106]For example, Bethel is used in Genesis 12:8, though it was called Luz (Gen. 28:19).

[107]J. Van Seters (1994), 298.

[108]Jeroboam is clearly portrayed as responsible for the destruction of the Northern Kingdom, so Van Seters's latter point can be accepted without objection. With regard to Van Seters's identification of the priests of the high-places with the Levites, see J. G. McConville who argues that Deut. 18:6-8 has nothing to do with centralisation. See J. G. McConville (1984), Ch. 7, esp. pp. 126, 132-35.

In order to solve this puzzling question various views have been proposed. The most appealing one is that Jeroboam initially appealed to an accepted tradition of Yahwistic calf symbolism but that the Deuteronomist distorted this episode into a polemic against the Northern Kingdom.[109] Many scholars suggest that Jeroboam did not set up the calves as cultic objects in themselves but as a pedestal for the divine presence, like the cherubim in Jerusalem. The fact that the first protest about northern calf-images comes only in the eighth century (Hosea 8:4-6; 10:5; 13:2) is taken as evidence that these traditions remained acceptable long after Jeroboam's reign. In Moberly's view, Yahwism was still understood largely in terms of Canaanite religion in the time of Jeroboam. In order to produce an effective rival to the Jerusalem temple and win the people's allegiance, (Moberly argues) Jeroboam chose the most widespread religious symbol which is already familiar to the people, and placed them at well-known ancient sanctuaries in Bethel (Gen. 28:10-22) and Dan (Judg. 17-18).[110]

However, we should also consider the possibility that the people (or the intended audience of 1 Kings) knew the story of Aaron's golden calf in Exodus 32. Jeroboam's golden calf episode narrated in 1 Kings 12 does not necessarily imply that the people accepted the cult-images as legitimate. Moberly thinks that the whole incident "represents the interpretative work of the redactor who wants to show how Jeroboam's act was no better than the notorious apostasy of Israel at Sinai."[111] In the light of Jeroboam's motivation and intentions in making the images (1 Kgs. 12:26-27), his counselling with himself (12:28), his arbitrary establishment of the festival (12:32), and the appointment of the non-Levitical priests, the whole story of Jeroboam in 1 Kings 12:26-33 indicates that the writer wants us to understand that "the actions which resulted in an idol-worshipping kingdom were part of a self-conceived and privately planned agenda by the king, implemented without input from human advisors or guidance from God."[112]

In the light of our discussion, Van Seters's view on the fictionality of Jeroboam's golden calves episode may be rejected. There is little reason to take this aspect of Van Seters's view seriously.

3.3.5. Literary dependence between Exodus 32 and 1 Kings 12

But can Van Seters and other scholars prove the dependence of Exodus 32 on 1 Kings 12? Let us sum up Van Seters's arguments.

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[109]See F. M. Cross (1973), 73.

[110]See R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 164-71; M. Noth, *The History of Israel* (1960), 232. In this regard I disagree with Moberly and Noth. Cf. also S. Lasine, "Reading Jeroboam's Intentions: Intertextuality, Rhetoric, and History in 1 Kings 12" (1992), 137.

[111]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 164

[112]S. Lasine (1992), 140.

1) The use of "gods" [אֱלֹהֶיךָ] with a plural verb [הֶעֱלוּךָ] in the proclamation of Aaron is inappropriate to Exodus 32, since only one image has been made in Exodus 32. On the other hand, this expression is appropriate in the context of 1 Kings 12. Therefore, he holds that the Exodus reference is dependent on 1 Kings 12:28.[113]

However, the apparent contradictory use of plural "gods" (with a plural verb) in Exodus 32 does not have to be the result of the direct dependence on 1 Kings 12, nor even due to the writer's carelessness. Moberly argues that the plural verb is not appropriate in the context of 1 Kings 12 either. Moberly suggests that "Jeroboam was not trying to introduce some new polytheism into the northern kingdom" but "was setting up two cult objects for the worship of one deity."[114] Moberly states that אֱלֹהִים can be used with a plural verb or predicate in two ways. First, the word אֱלֹהִים can in fact be used with a plural verb or predicate without any pagan implications, for example in Genesis 35:7, Deuteronomy 4:7 and 2 Samuel 7:23.[115] Second, a plural verb can be used with אֱלֹהִים to convey a pagan understanding of God, as in 1 Samuel 4:8 and Genesis 20:13. Moberly thinks that the latter is the likely significance of the verb used in Exodus 32 and 1 Kings 12.[116] Van Seters cannot therefore prove his claim that Exodus 32:1-6 is dependent on 1 Kings 12 on the basis of the plurality or otherwise of אֱלֹהִים.

2) Van Seters argues that there is no particular connection between the people's anxiety about the absence of Moses and their request for gods. Van Seters thinks that the people's request for gods who will lead them from Sinai onwards (Exod. 32:2) does not fit logically with their initial complaint of the absence of Moses who brought them up from Egypt.

Contra Van Seters, a study of the context shows that the people's request for אֱלֹהִים and their proclamation after the making of the calf fit perfectly well into the narrative in Exodus 32. Moses' long delayed stay on the mountain must have caused doubts in their minds about their journey. They did not know what had become of Moses, the agent of God, who had brought them up out of Egypt (Exod. 32:1). Who will take over the role of Moses for the rest of their journey? As Moberly points out, the people's proclamations in verses 1 and 4 show that Exodus 32 "presupposes both that Yahweh has brought the Israelites to Sinai and that he will lead them away again."[117] The

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[113]J. Van Seters (1994), 299-300. See also M. Noth, *Exodus* (1962), 246; R. E. Clements, *Exodus* (1972), 206; E. Aurelius (1988), 62.

[114]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 163.

[115]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 47, 163; cf. GKC, § 145; S. R. Driver, *Deuteronomy* (1902), 65.

[116]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 48; Moberly also indicates that an ordinary singular verb can be used after אֱלֹהִים, as in Neh. 9:18, without polemical intent. In this case אֱלֹהִים can be best rendered as "god" to convey a false conception of God.

[117]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 163-64. See also U. Cassuto (1967), 409.

people's proclamation which identifies the calf with the God who leads the people is appropriate in view of the immediate context.

On the other hand, Jeroboam's appeal to the exodus tradition seems to be less relevant to the immediate context. Jeroboam's proclamation after the making of the golden calves clearly suggests that the old exodus tradition was already known in the time of the author of 1 Kings 12. He wished to show Jeroboam linking the widely known exodus tradition with the newly made calves in an effort to provide a rival sanctuary for the Jerusalem temple.[118] This observation indicates that 1 Kings 12 is at least dependent on the old exodus tradition, if not literarily dependent on Exodus 32.

3) Van Seters holds that the building of an altar and the establishing of a festival do not fit with the people's request for gods who will lead them through the wilderness. Van Seters thinks that all these items derive from 1 Kings 12. If the people made a new idol in Exodus 32, all that happened subsequently can be seen as the natural outcome. It is *déjà vu*. In Exodus 24 the sacrifices followed immediately after the building of an altar (Exod. 24:4-5). The description of the people's apostasy in Exodus 32:1-6 presents a striking parallel with the account of the covenant ceremony in Exodus 24 and suggests a close connection between them. In Exodus 24, Moses rises early [וַיַּשְׁכֵּם], builds an altar [וַיִּבֶן מִזְבֵּחַ], and the people offer burnt offerings [וַיַּעֲלוּ עֹלֹת] and peace offerings [וַיִּזְבְּחוּ זְבָחִים שְׁלָמִים] to Yahweh, whereas in Exodus 32 Aaron builds an altar and the people rise early in the morning and offer the same sacrifices (cf. 24:4-5 with 32:5-6a).[119] In Exodus 24 the people eat and drink before Yahweh, whereas in Exodus 32 they eat and drink before the idol (cf. 24:11 with 32:6b).[120] The resemblances between the covenant making in Exodus 24 and the covenant breaking in Exodus 32:1-6 are striking.

The people's double promise to do [עשׂה] and obey [שׁמע] all the words of Yahweh (Exod. 24:3, 7) obviously sets up a contrast between legitimate (Exod. 24) and illegitimate worship (Exod. 32).[121] The building of an altar and the establishing of a festival are logical developments which followed the making of the golden calf, and Van Seters's claim cannot be upheld.

4) Van Seters argues that the identification of the apostasy as a "great sin [חַטָּאָה גְדֹלָה]" (Exod. 32:21, 31, 32) reflects Jeroboam's golden calves story in the Deuteronomistic history (2 Kgs. 17:21-23).[122] The alternative explanation, however, is also equally plausible: the writer of the book of Kings deliberately associates the apostasy

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[118]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 164; U. Cassuto (1967), 409.

[119]D. E. Waring (1985), 74: "It is noteworthy that the only times the words burnt offerings (עלה) and peace offerings (שלמים) occur together in the Book of Exodus are in 20:24; 24:5; and 32:6."

[120]Cf. also וַיִּרְאוּ אֶת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל in Exod. 24:10 with וַיַּרְא אַהֲרֹן in Exod. 32:5

[121]D. E. Waring (1985), 74; E. Blum (1990), 54; idem (1991), 275.

[122]Cf. also E. Aurelius (1988), 79-80.

of the Northern Kingdom with the "original" great sin in the history of Israel, the golden calf incident in Exodus 32.

5) Finally, Van Seters holds that the ominous prediction in Exodus 32:34b ("Nevertheless, when the day comes for punishment, I will punish them for their sin") also alludes to the ultimate judgment of the Northern Kingdom.[123] In Exodus, however, there are no specific references to the destruction of the Northern Kingdom nor to the exile. Exodus 32:34b can equally be understood as a general statement on the punishment for sin. The judgment on the Northern Kingdom could be read as a fulfilment of this prediction, but one does not have to assume that the writer of Exodus 32:34 had the judgment on the Northern Kingdom in his mind when he wrote.

To sum up, Van Seters dates the composition of Exodus not just after the fall of the Northern Kingdom but after the completion of the Deuteronomistic history. The Northern Kingdom was already destroyed a long time before. Consequently he finds no polemic against the Northern Kingdom in Exodus 32.[124] The cause of the destruction of the Northern Kingdom, Jeroboam's apostasy, is transformed into Aaron's golden calf story in Exodus 32 in order to portray the ultimate judgment on Judah.[125] Jeroboam's apostasy serves as a model for the ultimate fate not only of the Northern Kingdom but also of the whole people, including Judah, which are represented by the people in the wilderness. However, we have argued that Van Seters has not proved his case. His late dating of the composition of Exodus is based on speculation rather than on textual analysis. He reads the exilic situation into the Exodus text and finds evidence of the exilic background, although there is no specific reference in the text to the destruction of the Northern Kingdom nor to the exile. In our view it is easier to prove that 1 Kings 12 shows some acquaintance with the earlier exodus traditions and the pentateuchal material, and there is no reason why Exodus 32 should not be considered earlier than 1 Kings 12.

3.3.6. Literary dependence between Exodus 32 and Deuteronomy 9

Van Seters's view that Exodus was written after Deuteronomy also needs to be considered. Again working with the assumption that Exodus is later than the Deuteronomistic history, Van Seters begins to examine the relationship between Exodus 32-34 and Deuteronomy 9-10. Here Van Seters is mainly arguing against Aurelius who suggests that Deuteronomy 9-10 used the oldest level of the golden calf episode in

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[123]In Exodus 32:33-34 Hyatt finds a conception of individual responsibility similar to Ezekiel's but does not date the Exodus text as late as the time of Ezekiel. See J. P. Hyatt (1971), 303, 311.

[124]On this point Van Seters disagrees with Aurelius (1988: 75-76) who dates Exodus 32 shortly after 722 B.C.

[125]Cf. R. E. Clements, *Exodus* (1972), 206-7. Clements thinks that Exodus 32 is intended to denounce the worship of Bethel and Dan.

Exodus 32. Aurelius distinguishes multi-staged redactional layers within Deuteronomy 9-10. His analysis is as follows:[126]

Basic narrative:	9:1-7a, 13-14, 26a*, 27(-28); 10:11
First redaction:	9:(8-)9, 11-12, 15-17, 21, 26, (28-)29
Second redaction:	9:10, 18-19, 25; 10:1-5, 10
Later additions:	9:7b, (8), 20, 22-24; 10:6-7, 8-9

Aurelius' reconstructed basic narrative makes no reference to the golden calf incident in Exodus 32; the first redaction of Deuteronomy briefly mentions the oldest level of the Exodus 32 story. Van Seters rightly argues that the connection between Deuteronomy 9:7a and 9:13 in Aurelius' basic narrative is implausible, because the accusation against the people in 9:7a requires a concrete situation from the context. As Van Seters says, this would make the references to wickedness and sin in Moses' intercession (Deut. 9:27) too vague. Van Seters then asks, if the author of Deuteronomy knew the Exodus text, how is it possible that Deuteronomy omits many of the details of the story?[127]

According to Van Seters, the account of the renewal of the tablets in Deuteronomy 10:1-5 is secondary, because this section seems to interrupt Moses' intercession (Deut. 9:25-29) and Yahweh's response (10:10-11). In fact Van Seters regards all the material between Moses' prayer (9:25-29) and Yahweh's response (10:10-11) as later additions.[128] Van Seters sets out what he regards as the basic narrative and secondary additions in Deuteronomy 9:8-10:11 are as follows:

Basic narrative:	9:8-9, 11-17, 21, 25-29; 10:10-11
Secondary additions:	9:10, 18-19; 10:1-5
Very late additions:	9:20, 22-24; 10:6-9

He also thinks the account of the giving of the law in Deuteronomy 9:10 is secondary, firstly because the giving of the tablets of the law in 9:10 is a doublet of 9:11; and secondly because the language of 9:10 is similar to 10:1-5, which he has already decided as a later addition. Van Seters also regards Moses' intercession in Deuteronomy 9:18-19 as secondary, because the period of prayer for forty days between the breaking of the tablets (9:17) and the destruction of the calf (9:21) seems to be incredible,[129] and in addition Moses' intercession here (9:18-19) does not seem to add anything new to Moses' later intercession in 9:25-29.[130]

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[126]E. Aurelius (1988), 44-56.

[127]J. Van Seters (1994), 302-3.

[128]J. Van Seters (1994: 302) regards the journey report and the description of the Levites' responsibilities in Deut. 10:6-9 as even later additions than 10:1-5. Then he excludes Deut. 10:6-9 from his discussion.

[129]According to Van Seters, Deut. 9:20 is even later than 9:18-19. See below our discussion.

[130]See also G. Seitz (1971), 51-52 for similar arguments.

Van Seters agrees with Aurelius' view that Deuteronomy 9:20, 22-24 and 10:6-9 are very late additions, even later than the secondary additions in Deuteronomy 9:10, 18-19 and 10:1-5. Then he proceeds to exclude these passages from his discussion.

At this juncture it is worth noting Van Seters's contrasting assessment of the content of the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy. Van Seters vigorously defends the unity of the Exodus text and gives credit to the Yahwist, as the author of Exodus, for his literary ingenuity, but will not do the same for Deuteronomy. Instead he finds a series of levels of secondary additions and raises questions about the homogeneity of Deuteronomy. In fact he is forced to view the text of Deuteronomy in this way because of his proposal of a late date for the Yahwist.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, to find that his alleged later additions all reveal an acquaintance with the detail of Exodus 32, or of some part of the first four books of the Pentateuch. In particular, Moses' intercession for Aaron in Deuteronomy 9:20 makes very little sense without a knowledge of the Exodus narrative (Exod. 32:1-6, 21-24),[131] and indeed Van Seters admits that he sees Deuteronomy 9:20 as a later addition to Deuteronomy, because this verse "clearly presuppos[es] the details of Exodus 32."[132] The circularity of Van Seters's argument is therefore evident--the order of his redactions is arranged simply to suit his argument about dating.

Van Seters observes quite rightly that the episode as narrated in Deuteronomy is very sparse compared with the Exodus version. For instance, Deuteronomy does not report the circumstances in which the calf was made, what kind of material was used for making it (the word "gold" [זָהָב] never occurs in Deut. 9), nor Aaron's involvement in the incident (cf., Exod. 32:1-6, 21-24).[133] If Deuteronomy knew the story of the golden calf in Exodus 32, Van Seters argues, the omission of the details of the calf story corresponding to the Northern Kingdom's cult apostasy by the Deuteronomist are inconceivable in the light of the importance of the golden calf story in the Deuteronomistic history (1 Kgs. 12). According to Van Seters, Deuteronomy did not know the golden calf story in Exodus 32[134] and it was the polemic against "calves" in Hosea which inspired Deuteronomy.[135]

It seems to us a sound principle that a narrative which is fairly straight-forward in its general organisation, summarizing an event, is likely to be later than a complex and

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[131]S. Boorer (1992), 305; M. A. Zipor (1996), 22, n. 6.

[132]J. Van Seters (1994), 310.

[133]Van Seters ignores that Deut. 9:20 presupposes the story in Exod. 32:1-6 and 32:21-24.

[134]It should be noted, however, that this is because Van Seters attributes Deuteronomy's additional reports that have no correspondence in Exodus to secondary (for e.g., Moses' intercession for Aaron). Moreover he does not pay attention to the minute additions of Deuteronomy (for e.g., the destruction of the calf).

[135]J. Van Seters (1994), 302-3.

partially unresolved cluster of stories around an event. Van Seters himself refers to examples of the Assyrian inscriptions where later texts "copy in more summary fashion material from older texts in order to add new material,"[136] but he fails to note that as a whole the Deuteronomy's account is about half the length of the Exodus account, and on the whole is better organised. Boorer, for example, argues that the sequence in Deuteronomy 9:18-21, which is the reverse of that in Exodus 32:20, 21-24, 30-34, makes more logical sense within the whole context of Deuteronomy 9-10. In Deuteronomy 9:18-21 "Moses' intercession functions as an initial step to avert the anger of Yahweh, leading to destroying the sin which leads in turn to a fuller expansion of Moses' intercession and restoration of the covenant."[137] To Boorer, the sequence in Deuteronomy is more logical than that in Exodus, and Deuteronomy 9-10 appears to tidy up Exodus 32; this gives further evidence that Deuteronomy 9-10 is a later version of Exodus 32-34. Van Seters's reverse proposal, that Deuteronomy preceded Exodus, has to be very convincingly demonstrated before it can be accepted. We shall look at some of the detail of the narrative to see what bearing they have on the arguments.

3.3.7. The use of blind motifs

Exodus 32-34 can be read without preliminary knowledge provided from outside of the book, but Deuteronomy often makes allusions to past events without fully explaining them or preparing the reader for their introduction into the narrative. Boorer describes this phenomenon as a "blind motif" which "assumes knowledge of an earlier tradition, recalls it in summary fashion, and goes on to use this assumed knowledge in the service of the particular argument of which it is now part."[138]

The existence of a "blind motif" in a narrative often provides a clue about the dependence of one text on the other: the narrative which contains blind motifs may be said to be later than the other which does not. Deuteronomy's tendency to unexplained allusion therefore indicates that the reader is expected to have an acquaintance with the background of the episode. An example of a blind motif is found in the sudden mention of Aaron (Deut. 9:20), who has not been mentioned up to that point. The earlier references put the blame for making the calf onto the people, in 9:12 and 9:16. But if we already know from our knowledge of Exodus that Aaron is deeply implicated, this unprepared introduction of Aaron causes us no problem.

When Moses reaches the scene of the revelry in Deuteronomy, instead of a detailed description we get a general theological statement "you had sinned against Yahweh your God" and "had been quick to turn aside from the way that Yahweh had

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[136]J. Van Seters (1994), 306.
[137]S. Boorer (1992), 314.
[138]S. Boorer (1992), 305. See also M. A. Zipor (1996), 22, n.6.

commanded you," which tells the reader little, but seems to show the author's acquaintance with the apostasy described in Exodus 32:1-6,[139] and also seems to imply that the reader knows as well, and does not have to have it described in detail. Deuteronomy's omission of the people's apostasy (Exod. 32:1-6) and the people's dancing [מְחֹלֹת] (Exod. 32:19) does not seems to be accidental but deliberate. In fact 9:16b ("they have been quick to turn aside from the way ...") is Moses' quotation of Yahweh's speech in Deuteronomy 9:12b which in turn appears in Exodus 32:8a. The close correspondences between these two verses indicate dependence on the Exodus text.

The description of the details of the people's sins is consistently avoided or minimally described in Deuteronomy 9-10, mainly due to the sermonic nature of Deuteronomy. As Moses' aim is to warn the people against committing sin in the future, Deuteronomy carefully avoids giving a concrete description of the people's sin but only alludes to it in general terms, since a detailed description of the apostasy might have a negative effect and somehow legitimize imitation of the past. Deuteronomy achieves this aim skilfully by omitting incidental details and by using theological statements.

Van Seters does not acknowledge the existence of blind motifs in Deuteronomy, but understands them as illogicalities or as later additions. But most of the unevenness of the Deuteronomy text can be explained as the use of blind motifs by the author of Deuteronomy 9-10 without having to assume a complex redactional history behind the text.

As modern readers we are so familiar with the golden calf episode in Exodus we can hardly imagine what it would be like to read the golden calf episode narrated in Deuteronomy without having heard or read the episode as narrated in Exodus. But if we suppose that the reader or hearer of Deuteronomy did not know the golden calf episode in Exodus, many points of the narrative in Deuteronomy do not make sense and cannot be understood fully. It is hardly plausible to imagine that it was not until the period of the Exile that the people learnt about key details of the history of Israel, centred on the law-giving at Sinai, such as the story of the golden calf, or major features of the life of Moses, and that all they knew was the small amount of sermonic information in Deuteronomy.

Van Seters argues that the figures of Aaron (cf. Exod. 32:1-6, 21-24) and Joshua (Exod. 32:17-18) are created by the Yahwist. Van Seters observes that Joshua does not appear in Deuteronomy 9-10* but appears in Exodus 32. He speculates that the absence of Joshua, an important figure in the Deuteronomistic history, in Deuteronomy 9-10 is inconceivable, and then he concludes that Deuteronomy cannot have known the story of

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[139] חַטָּאתְכֶם in Deut. 9:16a also seems to allude to the motif of sin [חטא] in Exodus 32:21, 30-34.

Joshua in Exodus. He attributes the dialogue of Joshua with Moses in Exodus 32 to J's embellishment.[140]

But we should point out that the account of Joshua in Exodus or its absence in Deuteronomy does not shed light directly on the issue of priority of these texts, but the account of Moses' intercession for Aaron does give us a decisive clue. The presence of Joshua in Exodus 32 and the absence of Joshua in Deuteronomy 9-10 cause no problem in their context, and one text can be read without assuming the pre-knowledge of the other. On the other hand, Moses' intercession for Aaron in Deuteronomy cannot be understood correctly without the author and reader's acquaintance with the story in Exodus 32.

Moses' prayer for Aaron in Deuteronomy 9:20 does not appear in Exodus. As the reference to Aaron in Deuteronomy 9:20 is the first occurrence in Deuteronomy 9-10, this creates a problem for Van Seters's interpretation, and he tries to overcome this difficulty by imagining that this was inserted by a later redactor, who knew the story of Aaron in Exodus 32.[141] By this statement, however, contrary to his intention, Van Seters acknowledges that the final form of Deuteronomy did know Exodus and is later than Exodus.

Deuteronomy 9:20 reveals the author's acquaintance with the detail of the incident in Exodus 32, since this verse presupposes Aaron's strong involvement in the making and worship of the golden calf. Yahweh's anger against Aaron and Moses' prayer for him are inexplicable unless Aaron's role in the apostasy is assumed.

3.3.8. Literary connections between Exodus 34:1-10 and Deuteronomy 10:1-11

More problems are raised for Van Seters's approach by the relationship between Exodus 33-34 and Deuteronomy 10. In contrast to the close and extensive parallels between Exodus 32 and Deuteronomy 9, there are only a limited number of correspondences between Exodus 33-34 and Deuteronomy 10. Exodus 33 will not be dealt with in this chapter, since there is no counterpart to Exodus 33 at all in Deuteronomy. Most of the details in the account in Exodus 34 do not appear in Deuteronomy, and conversely most of the details in the account in Deuteronomy 10 do not appear in Exodus. However there are a number of verbatim correspondences between the two chapters, i.e., in Exodus 34:1, 2, 4, 28, 29 and Deuteronomy 10:1-5, 10. We shall limit our focus on Deuteronomy 10:1-11 and its counterpart in Exodus.

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[140]J. Van Seters (1994), 310.

[141]J. Van Seters (1994), 310. Van Seters also regards other occurrences of Aaron in Deuteronomy 10:6 and 32:50 as later additions.

With regard to the differences between these parallel passages (i.e., Exod. 34:1-4, 28-29 and Deut. 10:1-5, 10), many scholars simply compare them without considering their surrounding contexts and then hastily conclude that most of the details which appear only in one of the two books are secondary additions to their basic texts. However, such a comparison, which does not take account of the larger contexts of the passages, cannot be considered legitimate.

The fact that the accounts in Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 10 are both presented immediately after Moses' prayer (Exod. 33:12-23 and Deut. 9:25-29) indicates that each of the accounts should be understood in the light of Moses' prayer. Though both accounts record the result of Moses' intercessory prayer, the different textual arrangements of Moses' prayer indicate that the two accounts have different functions in Exodus and Deuteronomy respectively. While the whole event in Exodus 34 is presented *after* Yahweh's answer to a series of Moses' prayers (Exod. 33:19-23), the events in Deuteronomy 10:1-9 are presented *between* Moses' prayer (9:25-29) and Yahweh's answer to it (10:10-11).

Many scholars think that Yahweh's answer in Deuteronomy 10:10-11 originally followed Deuteronomy 9:29, and consequently the material between them (Deut. 10:1-5 and 6-9) is usually regarded as secondary.[142] In fact Deuteronomy 10:1-5 and 6-9 are closely connected to their surrounding texts. After the recollection of the apostasy at Horeb and the other rebellious incidents in the wilderness in 9:22-24, comes the recollection of the acts of Yahweh's grace, from the very place where the apostasy took place until they arrived at the place where they were standing to hear Moses' speech: first of all the renewal of the tablets and placing of the tablets into the ark in 10:1-5, and secondly the various episodes during the wilderness journey mentioned in 10:6-9 which demonstrate that Yahweh remained faithful to his people along their journey.[143]

The reason why the author of Deuteronomy put these accounts (10:1-9) before mentioning Yahweh's response can be found in the sermonic character of the book. Unlike the historical narrative, the preacher has the freedom to emphasise his point by relating an event without strictly following the chronological sequence. Moses' sermon in Deuteronomy, after forty years of wilderness experience, is not obliged to present historical events in chronological order and thus picks up some representative events which clearly demonstrate Yahweh's grace and faithfulness.

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[142]Especially 10:6-9, because of the changed narrative view point from the first person to the third person, is regarded as an even later addition than 10:1-5. For this issue, see our discussion below.

[143]See especially "to this day" in Deut. 10:8.

3.3.8.1. The new tablets and the ark in Deuteronomy 10:1-5 and Exodus 34:1-4, 28-29

An account of the giving of the tablets occurs in both Exodus and Deuteronomy, with some variations, and the differences between the accounts may be explained by the different perspectives of Exodus and Deuteronomy. The most striking difference between the two accounts is Deuteronomy's reference to the ark. In Deuteronomy Yahweh commands Moses to make an ark (Deut. 10:1b) and to put the tablets into it (10:2b)--a command which Moses complied with (10:3aα, 5aβ). The ark motif in Deuteronomy 10 has no parallel in Exodus 34[144]--in Exodus the ark comes later.

At first glance Yahweh seems to command Moses to make an ark before receiving the tablets. The subsequent account seems to suggest that Moses himself made the ark before he went up the mountain and that he put the tablets into the ark as soon as he came down from the mountain. This account of the making of the ark by Moses himself and the placing of the tablets in the ark immediately after his descent from the mountain seems to contradict the Exodus account, because, according to Exodus 37:1-9, the ark was made by Bezalel after Moses' descent from the mountain and, according to Exodus 40:20, the tablets of the covenant[145] were not put into the ark of the covenant until the erection of the tabernacle.

Source criticism usually explains these features by suggesting that an account of the ark also existed in the Exodus narrative originally but that after the P material (Exod. 25-31, 35-40) was added to JE material the final redactor deleted the earlier account of the ark to avoid contradiction, and Driver, for example, thinks that the text of Exodus 34:1-5 once contained an ark story in accordance with the narrative in Deuteronomy.[146] Source critics think that the P writer elevated the view of the ark from a mere container for the tablets into a symbol of divine presence. Boorer, however, comments that this is "an argument from silence and therefore cannot carry much weight."[147]

Van Seters thinks that the account of the ark never existed in Exodus 34, and believes that Exodus 34 was composed after Deuteronomy 10.[148] An alternative

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[144]Cf. also Deut. 10:8-9 where the ark motif appears in relation to the appointment of the Levites. This passage has no parallel in Exodus, either.

[145]The word "testimony" [הָעֵדוּת] is used for the ark of the covenant in Exod. 40:20. In Deut. 31:9, 24-26, the laws of Deuteronomy are said to have been delivered to the sons of Levi, and deposited by them "beside the ark of Yahweh your God, that it may remain there as a witness against you" (31:26).

[146]S. R. Driver (1902), 118; see also G. H. Davies, "Deuteronomy" (1962), 275; J. P. Hyatt (1971); A. Phillips, *Deuteronomy* (1973), 72-73; A. D. H. Mayes (1979), 203; M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (1991), 417.

[147]S. Boorer (1992), 318, n. 226.

[148]According to J. Van Seters (1994), 329, the Yahwist deliberately omitted the account of the ark, because the Yahwist held an elevated view of the ark as a symbol of divine guidance rather than as a receptacle for the law.

explanation is possible by reading the Deuteronomic passage synchronically. The ark motif in Deuteronomy 10 should be understood in the light of the purpose of Moses' sermonic address.

Many have pointed out that it was not Moses but Bezalel who made the ark and also that the ark motif at this point is chronologically out of sequence. Moses, however, as a leader of the venture, can be legitimately credited with having the ark made, though the actual handiwork was undertaken by Bezalel.[149] Moses is also not obliged to follow the chronological sequence of the events in his sermon. Dischronologised narrative is not uncommon in the Old Testament, and Deuteronomy 10:3 and 10:5 do not claim that the actions mentioned are in chronological order. As Kalland notices, the text does not say that the placing of the tablets into the ark took place *immediately* after Moses' descent from the mountain.[150] Ridderbos comments that themes such as the tablets and the ark "that belong logically together are placed together to the partial neglect of the chronological sequence."[151] To make his point strongly and convincingly the author develops his subject thematically, if necessary even breaking the chronological sequence of the events. Here the author clearly wants to show the reader how the people "were finally restored completely to Yahweh's favour."[152] Here Moses mentions the deposit of the tablets of the covenant into the ark as evidence of the restoration of the formerly broken relationship between Yahweh and the people.[153]

We can draw an important conclusion from our observation: the final form of Deuteronomy seems to know the account of the ark (P) in Exodus and to summarise it in retrospect. Exodus presents an extremely detailed description of the ark: its size and material, how and with what material the ark is to be overlaid, how the rings and poles are to be made and attached to the ark for the purpose of carrying it (Exod. 25:10-16; cf. 37:1-5). In particular Exodus describes the ark as a deposit place of the testimony: Yahweh gives an instruction to put the testimony [הָעֵדֻת] into the ark (Exod. 25:16) and Moses puts the testimony [הָעֵדֻת] into the ark after the erection of the tabernacle (40:20). A reading of the Exodus accounts of the ark makes it appear likely that the author of Deuteronomy knew the Exodus accounts of the ark very well.

וְעָשׂוּ אֲרוֹן עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים	Exod. 25:10a
וַיַּעַשׂ בְּצַלְאֵל אֶת־הָאָרֹן עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים	Exod. 37:1a
וְעָשִׂיתָ לְךָ אֲרוֹן עֵץ	Deut. 10:1b

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[149]E. S. Kalland, "Deuteronomy" (1992), 84.
[150]E. S. Kalland (1992), 84.
[151]J. Ridderbos, *Deuteronomy* (1984), 138.
[152]S. R. Driver (1902), 117.
[153]A copy of the treaty was deposited in the sanctuary of the vassal state in the ancient Near East. Here Yahweh requires the same of Moses. See K. A. Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (Chicago: InterVarsity, 1966), 93; M. G. Kline, *Treaty of the Great King* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1963), 14ff; idem, *The Structure of Biblical Authority* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), 35-36, 121; G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *Biblical Archaeologist* 17 (September 1954): 60; and *ANET*, 205.

וְנָתַתָּ אֶל־הָאָרֹן אֵת הָעֵדֻת אֲשֶׁר אֶתֵּן אֵלֶיךָ	Exod. 25:16
וְשַׂמְתָּם בָּאָרוֹן	Deut. 10:2b
וַיִּקַּח וַיִּתֵּן אֶת־הָעֵדֻת אֶל־הָאָרֹן	Exod. 40:20a
וָאָשֶׂם אֶת־הַלֻּחֹת בָּאָרוֹן אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי	Deut. 10:5aβ

Apart from chronology, there is no contradiction between the ark passages in Exodus and Deuteronomy. In the account of Yahweh's command concerning the making of the ark and the placing of the tablets into it Deuteronomy 10:1-5 summarises the command given in Exodus 25, even before the incident of the golden calf, and the placing of the tablets into the ark after the erection of the tabernacle in Exodus 40.

In Deuteronomy Moses seems to sum up Israel's past wilderness history in a miniature review, referring to the giving of the tablets, the placing of the tablets into the ark, and the carrying of the ark by the Levites. All the remarks on the ark in Deuteronomy 10 can be understood as retrospective reflections in Moses' sermon on the plain of Moab. If this is correct, there is no difficulty in concluding that the author of Deuteronomy 10 knew well the accounts of the instruction of the ark (Exod. 25:10-16) and the making of it (Exod. 37:1-5). Thus we may conclude that Deuteronomy 10:1-5 is later than Exodus 34.

3.3.8.2. The journey report and the account of Aaron's death in Deuteronomy 10:6-7

Deuteronomy 10:6-7 reports the journey of Israel in the wilderness, the death and burial of Aaron, and Aaron's son Eleazar's succession to the priesthood in his stead. These incidents should be read in connection with Moses' intercession for Aaron and the rebellious incident in the wilderness (Deut. 9:20, 22-24). The itinerary in Deuteronomy 10:6-7 is a counterpart of the rebellious incidents in the wilderness in Deuteronomy 9:22-24 and these two passages should be read together. While the latter created suspense and a negative and gloomy atmosphere after the reference to Moses' prayer in 9:18-19, the former offers a positive and promising mood after Moses' prayer in 9:25-29.

The itinerary in Deuteronomy 10:6-9 seems to be an extract from Numbers 33, but there is also a problem with regard to the sequence of the itinerary. The sequence of the places mentioned in Deuteronomy 10:6-7 is not that of Numbers 33:31-33. The sequence of journeys in Numbers 33:31-33 is Moseroth, Bene Jaakan (v. 31), Hor Haggidgad (v. 32) and Jotbathah (v. 33).

Driver thinks that the differences between the two itineraries are "due to their expressing divergent traditions respecting the order of the stations passed by the

Israelites."[154] Ridderbos thinks that different journeys are in view.[155] Weinfeld claims that the itinerary in Deuteronomy 10 is independent of that in Numbers 33.[156] Keil and others suggest that it is possible that the sequence of the itinerary in Deuteronomy 10 does not follow that of Numbers 33:31-33 but that of the journey back to Kadesh implied in Numbers 33:37.[157]

It is important, however, to recognise that the purpose of citing the names of places in Deuteronomy is different from that in Numbers. The purpose of the journey report in Deuteronomy is not to give full information about the Israelite encampment in the wilderness. Numbers 33 lists forty places of the Israelite encampment from the day they left Egypt until they arrived at the plains of Moab; and twenty-one of the forty places are the places where the Israelites encamped from Sinai to Kadesh. In contrast to the long list in Numbers 33, Deuteronomy 10 refers to only four places of encampment in the fortieth year of the Israelite wilderness journey.[158] The purpose of the comment on the abundant water at Jotbathah, which does not appear in Numbers, is again to highlight Yahweh's grace. Deuteronomy picks up some representative places which show well Yahweh's grace during the wilderness journey.

Most scholars think that the report of Aaron's death and burial interrupts the sermonic discourse of Moses. This passage, however, should be read in the light of Moses' intercession for Aaron in Deuteronomy 9:20. Yahweh was angry enough to kill Aaron because of his reprehensible involvement in the incident of the golden calf. The death and burial of Aaron at Moserah, not immediately at Horeb, clearly indicates that Moses' prayer had been answered. Aaron was spared as a result of Moses' intercessory prayer. Consequently this report relieves the tension created in Deuteronomy 9:20-24. Moreover, Aaron's son Eleazar's succession to the priesthood in his stead, which implies Aaron's priesthood had already been established despite Aaron's sin at Horeb, is recollected as a further evidence of Yahweh's grace and mercy toward Aaron and his descendants.[159]

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[154]S. R. Driver (1902), 119.

[155]J. Ridderbos (1984), 139.

[156]M. Weinfeld (1991), 419. D. L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (1991), 196, also suggests that "there is no direct relationship" between Deuteronomy 10 and Numbers 33, because Jotbathah is the only term which is identical in the itinerary in Deuteronomy and Numbers.

[157]C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *The Pentateuch* (1981), I: 3: 244-45; E. S. Kalland (1992), 84: "It appears that after leaving Kadesh, Israel went toward Edom and then later returned to Kadesh before starting on the last trip around Edom and up onto the plains of Moab. Consequently the order here is the reverse of that in Numbers 33:31-33."

[158]C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *The Pentateuch* (1981), I: 3: 245.

[159]J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy* (1974), 145. Cf. S. R. Driver (1902: 120) who, though acknowledging the view suggested by Hengstenberg and Keil that the general purpose of Deut. 9-10 is to illustrate Yahweh's favour and grace towards his disobedient people, disagrees with them: "it is difficult to think that, had such been the aim of the present notice, it would have been expressed so indirectly."

As Keil rightly comments, the author of Deuteronomy highlights Yahweh's grace not only through the restoration of the tablets but also through "the institution and maintenance of the high-priesthood."[160] The journey report (10:6-7) along with the accounts of the renewal of the tablets and the placing of the tablets into the ark (10:1-5) shows how Moses' prayer was answered and thus provides further evidence of Yahweh's grace and mercy. We may conclude that the journey report and the account of Aaron's death and burial in Deuteronomy summarise the events in Exodus and Numbers and must be later than the Tetrateuch.

3.3.8.3. The ark and the Levites in Deuteronomy 10:8-9

Deuteronomy 10:8-9 appears to be a historical parenthesis. The principal responsibilities of the Levites are outlined here: to carry the ark of the covenant of Yahweh; to stand before Yahweh to minister to him; and to bless in his name. While Deuteronomy 10:6-7 is the narrator's comment, for the people are mentioned there in the third person plural instead of the second person, 10:8-9 seems to be Moses' address to the people, for Yahweh is mentioned here as "your God."[161] Though many scholars claim that the account of the institution of the Levites and the description of their responsibilities (Deut. 10:8-9) are out of context, this account is not really parenthetical in style and in the flow of Moses' thought.[162]

We can find several reasons for the inclusion of this passage at this juncture. First, the account of the making of the ark and the deposition of the tablets into it (Deut. 10:1-5) is closely related to the primary responsibility of the Levites. The deposition of the tablets in the ark seems to prompt Moses to mention the appointment of the Levites here and the responsibilities of the Levites with and before the ark all along the journey.[163]

Second, Deuteronomy 10:8 begins with the time indicator "at that time" and finishes with another time indicator "to this day." These time indicators are very significant in the interpretation of the passage. We do not know the exact time indicated by the expression בָּעֵת הַהִוא in Deuteronomy 10:8.[164] It appears to refer back to the time

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[160]C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch, *The Pentateuch* (1981), I: 3: 340.

[161]De Regt, however, thinks that Moses' address and the narrator's comment are blended in Deuteronomy 10:6-9 because of the expression עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה "until this day" in verse 8. See L. J. de Regt (1988), 7, and 117, n. 11. Ridderbos regards 10:8-9 as a later insertion but, raising a question of the second person ("your God") in 10:9, suggests a possibility that a later author adapted "the verse to Moses' style." J. Ridderbos (1984), 140. Pointing out that "these things are stated here [i.e., 10:8-9] as fact, not as a future matters (as in 18:2)," Ridderbos attributes this passage to a later addition.

[162]S. R. Driver (1902: 121) unusually takes 10:8-9 as "a genuine continuation of the discourse of Moses [in Deut. 10:1-5]."

[163]P. C. Craigie (1976), 201; E. S. Kalland (1992), 84.

[164]The institution of the priesthood occurs in Exod. 28-29 and Lev. 8, and the consecration of the Levites occurs in Num. 3. These passages are all regarded as P. See S. R. Driver (1902), 121.

of the deposition of the tablets into the ark in 10:5. According to Deuteronomy 10:1-5, the deposition of the tablets into the ark follows immediately the giving of the tablets. No sooner did Moses receive the renewed tablets than he put them into the ark. Though, chronologically speaking, he did not do these things at the same time, they are described as though they happened virtually simultaneously. Therefore "at that time" (10:8) can be identified with the same time indicated by בָּעֵת הַהִוא in Deuteronomy 10:1. In other words, Deuteronomy describes the deposition of the tablets into the ark as the first event as a sign of forgiveness of the people's sin. The author of Deuteronomy has a reason to describe these two events as though they happened at the same time, even to the extent of dischronologising the account of the making of the ark. This reason will be evident once we explain the use of another time indicator "to this day" which occurs in the same verse.

Third, the expression "to this day"[עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה] (10:8) indicates that the ministry of the Levites is still active in the preacher's/narrator's day (or at least until the people listen to Moses' sermon).[165] The expression "to this day" (10:8) indicates that the responsibilities assigned to the Levites at an earlier date still apply in the present. In other words, Yahweh's grace which was extended to the sinful people did not stop with the deposition of the tablets at Horeb, the place of apostasy, but continued throughout the wilderness journey up to the present moment when the people listen to Moses' sermon. We find here a rhetorical expression similar to merismus.[166] Yahweh's grace is expressed in the two events, one happened right after Moses' prayer (the deposition of the tablets into the ark) and the other happened in the most recent past (the ministry of the Levites with the ark and before the ark). In this way the author shows that Yahweh's grace extends from the beginning of the renewal of the tablets to the time the people listen to Moses' sermon: from the beginning to the end, if we could extend merismus. This is why the author of Deuteronomy deliberately dischronologises the account of the making of the ark and the deposition of the tablets into the ark.

In conclusion, the account of the ark and the Levites in Deuteronomy 10:8-9 seems to know the history of Israel in the desert well. Though we do not find direct relationship of Deuteronomy 10:8-9 with Exodus, the general tenor strongly suggests that Deuteronomy is later than the Tetrateuch.

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[165]Cf. G. H. Davies (1962), 275.

[166]For the terminology merismus, see, for e.g., L. Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*, SB 11 (Rome: Potifical Biblical Institute, 1988), 83f: "Merismus reduces a complete series to two of its constituent elements, or it divides a whole into two halves. 'Mountains and valleys' represent the whole of the countryside. 'Heaven and earth' is the universe. The two elements must represent the totality." For further explanation see also Jože Krašovec, "Merism--Polar Expression in Biblical Hebrew," *Biblica* 64 (1983): 231-39.

3.3.9. Conclusions with regard to the dating issue

In this chapter we have examined the history of source-critical scholarship on the subject of the golden calf, and have considered the dating issues and the literary relationship between Exodus 32-34 and Deuteronomy 9-10. Mainly refuting Van Seters's view, i.e., the priority of Deuteronomy over Exodus, we show that there is no reason to change from the traditional view--that Deuteronomy was composed later than and was dependent on Exodus.

Van Seters begins his analysis with his presupposition: Exodus-Numbers as a literary work of the Yahwist based on Deuteronomy. Van Seters does not deal with the priestly material, and only focuses on the Yahwistic writing. Though he argues against the traditional document hypothesis he largely follows the scholarly consensus except the dating of J. He does not see Moses' speech in Deuteronomy as a recapitulation of the past history in Exodus-Numbers. Van Seters explains the similarity between Exodus and Deuteronomy as a result of the Yahwist's heavy dependence on Deuteronomy, on the one hand, but treats the differences between them as the Yahwist's innovation. In this way Van Seters is able to interpret these texts in the opposite direction to the traditional view.

We pointed out Van Seters's arbitrariness in his analysis: if Van Seters finds a similar idea or expression from both Deuteronomy and Exodus-Numbers, he claims this as evidence for the Yahwist's dependence on Deuteronomy. On the other hand, if he finds a certain idea which appears only in Exodus-Numbers but does not appear in Deuteronomy, he attributes this to a later development by the Yahwist.

We summarize our findings as follows:

1) Deuteronomy usually tends to allude and presupposes the episode in Exodus.

2) Deuteronomy does not describe the concrete apostasy of the people but usually expresses the people's sin by abstract theological comments. This tendency of Deuteronomy indicates that Deuteronomy 9-10 is an elaboration of the earlier version in Exodus 32-34.

3) Deuteronomy knows the history of Israel in the wilderness and presents it in a summarised form.

We conclude that the composition of Deuteronomy 9-10 is later than Exodus 32-34.

3.4. Conclusion

If we began this chapter with the assumption that source criticism would shine clear light on the issue of the differences between the Exodus and Deuteronomy accounts of the golden calf incident, we would have to admit at the end of this chapter that we have been disabused. Two main factors prompt us to be disillusioned with the work of source critics. The first is that source critics do not agree with each other even on the basic issues they address, and the second is a concern that the focus of their attention is on an issue of only peripheral interest. The lack of agreement among scholars who have addressed source-critical issues seems only to increase as the years pass.

In the case of our own concern here, the golden calf incident, it is obviously the case that the two versions of the story differ because the history of the two texts differs. But the exact histories of the two texts have proved most elusive. We have to admit that the text has a few rough edges, as source critics allege: there are a few inconsistencies as we saw at the end of the previous chapter. Did Joshua accompany Moses (Exodus) or not (Deuteronomy)? What was the exact sequence of events, considering Deuteronomy 9:18-21 reverses the order of Exodus 32:20-34? Did Moses fast once (Exodus), or twice (Deuteronomy)? We are surely justified in asking which is the right story, or at least which is the full story, since some of the differences (such as the presence of Joshua) may simply be omissions--though omissions that need an explanation.

It may also be argued in favour of source criticism that the date of composition affects the meaning of the text. Assuming that the text was not originally written for Christians in the twenty-first century, it must make a difference, it may be argued, where the text sits in relation to major milestones in Israel's history. It may alter the meaning of a text if we can ascertain whether a text was written for tribes wandering in a wilderness, or for tribes doing whatever was right in their own eyes, whether the text speaks to the members of a small monarchic state or encourages a small band of returning exiles. This is particularly relevant to our own field of study because of the alleged connection with King Jeroboam's golden calves. If we knew that either Exodus or Deuteronomy was written before or after Jeroboam's time we might well have to agree that this affected our understanding of the text. But we find that source critics have not even been able to agree on this issue.

The fact is that these texts do not invite us to speculate about its own history. If we delve into this history we have to admit that this is not an endeavour prompted by the text itself. If there are rough places in the text we are not invited by the text to take these as our prime focus of attention.

In spite of the fact that we have expressed our view on the relative dating issue, we have to say finally that we do not know the definitive answer to questions about the history of the text. It is a matter of speculation. But we also have to ask whether the history of the text is the most interesting thing about the text. When we consider the usefulness of the source-critical approach to the wider church or synagogue community we have to admit that its findings would be of greater interest if they were more certain, but even if they were more reliable they are not the prime concern of those outside the academic world who read the Old Testament. Many who read the Old Testament do so because they believe it relates to New Testament in a meaningful way, not just as interesting historical background, but for key theological reasons. But more than this, many readers believe the text has the capacity to speak to them in some way, in spite of being a very ancient text. In this case key facts about how the text reached its present state would be of interest if they could be relied on, but only as background information. The more important is always the message or content of the text. What does this chapter say to me? Why does the sacred book include this incident, and in our case find it worthwhile to include it twice?

Just how useful the non-academic reader of the Pentateuch finds any information we can provide about the history or sources of the text becomes obvious if we take the analogy of Shakespeare's plays. Whether Shakespeare got the story of Hamlet from one book or another book or out of his head, is only of marginal interest. What he did with the story is what makes it a great play.

What writers of Exodus and Deuteronomy did with the story is a question we consider in chapter 6. But first of all must ask what kind of texts it is we are dealing with, and this is what we consider next, in our chapter on genre.

Chapter 4

A Genre-critical View of Exodus 32-34 and Deuteronomy 9-10

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of our study is to explain the differences between the narratives of the golden calf episode in Exodus and Deuteronomy. One reason why the golden calf episodes as told in Exodus and Deuteronomy differ from each other is that the literary genre of the two narratives which contain the episode is different. When an author produces a literary work, he or she consciously or unconsciously works within a specific literary form, and the choice of literary form directly affects the way of telling a story, style, phraseology, and sometimes the vocabulary used in the work. The reader, in the same way, whether consciously or unconsciously, inevitably takes into account the vehicle through which the author sends his message, so that he will receive the message in the way the author intended.

Even a cursory reading of the episodes of the golden calf in Exodus and Deuteronomy shows that their literary forms are different, and for this reason an investigation of the literary genres of the two golden calf episodes is indispensable for our study. We have already noted in the previous chapter that the episode in Exodus is part of a historical narrative, whereas in Deuteronomy the golden calf incident is embedded in an extended sermon-like address. In this chapter we shall explore this in more detail, and this will help us to understand the differences between the two narratives from the viewpoint of literary genre.

Before we discuss the genres of the two narratives, we shall discuss various issues related to genre analysis in general. Secondly we shall discuss the genre of the Pentateuch, which forms the context of the narratives. Thirdly, the genre of Exodus as a whole will be considered, followed by the genre of Exodus 32-34*. Fifthly, the genre of Deuteronomy, followed by the genre of Deuteronomy 9-10*.

Our study on the genre of Deuteronomy will show Deuteronomy's distinctive way of dealing with the past history. Thus, finally, we shall examine how the earlier chapters in Deuteronomy (Deut. 1-3) use and transform the narratives in Numbers, and we shall conclude this chapter by examining how Deuteronomy 9-10 transforms the narratives in Exodus 32-34.

4.2. Genre criticism

The study of genre has played a significant role in biblical studies and is recognised as a crucial area of analysis before any part of the biblical text can be fully understood.

The origin of genre theory goes back to the time of Plato and Aristotle.[1] Though Plato developed the concept of representation, it was Aristotle who distinguished the various modes of literature into three basic types, which he described as lyric, epic, and drama.[2] While Plato's approach was descriptive, Aristotle's tended to be prescriptive. Whether genre is descriptive or prescriptive has been the subject of debate: if genre regulates a literary work, as Osborne points out, it plays a crucial role in discovering the original meaning of a work. If genre, however, is merely secondary, and may be described *after the event*, it plays only a peripheral role in establishing the original meaning.[3]

4.2.1. Definition of genre

The term *genre* comes from French. There is no agreed equivalent for this word in the vocabulary of English criticism: "kind," "type," "form," and "genre" are variously used. In spite of its significant place in hermeneutical theory, a proper definition of genre is much debated.[4] It has become customary to use the term fairly loosely to describe the variety of "kinds" of literature, and this gives an idea of the confusion that surrounds some aspects of the development of the theory of genres, but also shows the need for precise ideas on the subject.[5]

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[1]G. R. Osborne, "Genre Criticism--Sensus Literalis," *TJ* 4 (1983), 1; T. Longman III, "Form Criticism, Recent Developments in Genre Theory, and the Evangelical," *WTJ* 47 (1985), 53, 56; P. R. House, *The Unity of the Twelve*. JSOTS 97 (Sheffield: Almond Press, 1990), 38.

[2]P. R. House (1990), 38-41; T. Longman III (1985), 53, 56. Osborne, however, following A. N. A. Orsini and Gerard Genette, rejects the above explanation about the origin of genre. According to Osborne, Plato distinguished the various modes of literature into three types: 1) drama which deals with action; 2) epic which deals with people; 3) and a mixed genre which combines the two. Then Aristotle, in reaction to Plato's descriptive approach, identified the various modes of literature into three different types: comedy, tragedy, and epic. According to Osborne, "the classic differentiation of three 'basic genres'--lyric, epic, and drama--developed as a result of a later misunderstanding of Plato and Aristotle." G. R. Osborne (1983), 1, n. 2.

[3]G. R. Osborne (1983), 1. The Platonic and Aristotelian concepts of genre, i.e., the descriptive and prescriptive approaches to genre, have undergone repeated rises and falls in acceptance during the ensuing centuries.

[4]R. Knierim, "Old Testament Form Criticism Reconsidered," *Interpretation* 27 (1973), 436.

[5]See C. H. Holman, *A Handbook to Literature*, 3rd edition (New York: Odyssey, 1972), 239; B. C. Lee, "Genre" in *A Dictionary of Modern Critical Terms*, ed. by R. Fowler, revised edition (London and New York: Routledge, 1987), 104. See also P. R. House (1990), 38.

To Barton, genre simply means "any recognizable and distinguishable type of writing or speech" which operates "within certain conventions that are in principle (not necessarily in practice) stateable [*sic*]."[6] Similarly, Dillard and Longman define the term genre as "a group of texts that bear one or more traits in common with each other. These texts may be similar in content, structure, phraseology, function, style, and/or mood."[7]

Contemporary genre theorists have employed various metaphors or models to describe the communicative nature of genre. Hirsch likens genre to a *game*, since language and genre, like games, have rules. Before we understand the meaning of an utterance we have to learn the rules of a game.[8]

R. Wellek and A. Warren compare genre with the idea of *institution.*[9] According to this metaphor, just as an individual who belongs to an institution has to follow the regulations of that institution (but may sometimes change these rules), genre normally compels authors but can sometimes be changed by them. M. Billson compares genre with *legal contracts*.[10] This useful metaphor understands genre as commonly agreed expectations between authors and readers.[11]

How can the study of genre advance our understanding of any particular text? The purpose of genre criticism, according to Northrop Frye:

> is not so much to classify as to clarify such traditions and affinities, thereby bringing out a large number of literary relationships that would not be noticed as long as there were no context established for them.[12]

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[6]J. Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study* (London: Darton Longman and Todd, 1984), 16.

[7]R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III, *An Introduction to the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 30; T. Longman III, *How to Read the Psalms* (Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1988), 20.

[8]E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), 70-71: "To play the game properly you must have learned the rules. But since there are a great many games (*langue*), and since it is necessary to know the rules that apply to a particular game (*parole*), a problem arises. How does one know which game is being played? To have mastered all the rules ... is not to know which norms apply in a particular case. ... We can never be sure which game is being played, because we never have a rulebook. We must learn, as Wittgenstein insists, by playing. ... One has to play a game several times before he really understands it and thereby learns the rules. The game, therefore, must be associated not with just one utterance, but with a type of utterance--that is, with several utterances having, in Wittgenstein's terms, a 'family resemblance.' For language games (utterances) that are entirely unique there could be no public norms, no shared rules."

[9]R. Wellek and A. Warren, *Theory of Literature* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1956), 226.

[10]M. Billson, "The Memoir: New Perspectives on a Forgotten Genre," *Genre* 1 (1977): 259-82. Cited from T. Longman III (1985), 52.

[11]Similarly genre is compared with "codes" (T. Todorov), "deep/surface structure" (K. Hempfer and P. Ricoeur), or "patterns of expression" (R. D. Abrahams). For the summary of various metaphors, see T. Longman III (1985), 51-53 and B.-K. Ljungberg, "Genre and Form Criticism in Old Testament Exegesis," in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*. Edited by Robert D. Bergen (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 420-21.

[12]Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (New York: Atheneum, 1957), 247-48.

According to Woodward and Travers, genre criticism "helps readers see the similarities among various texts within a genre, and the differences among various genres, thereby alerting readers to important considerations in interpretation."[13] Genre is a "means of understanding how a work of literature is structured," argue Woodward and Travers. Genre criticism is simply "an interpretative tool that helps the reader to understand a text more fully."[14]

4.2.2. Genre analysis of biblical texts

Before we discuss the genre of biblical texts, we need to ask the question whether we are not imposing our modern concept of genre on biblical texts which are extremely ancient, and Semitic rather than classical. Before Aristotle there was no attempt to classify literary works in terms of shared characteristics,[15] and Biblical writers were not concerned with a self-conscious generic classification of their writings.[16] Longman, however, defends the legitimacy of generic classification based on modern genre understanding for biblical texts: "While the Israelite and other Near Eastern peoples were not concerned as far as we know with genres on a theoretical level, their writings are conducive to a generic approach, perhaps even more than modern literature."[17]

Generic analysis of the biblical text was first introduced in the shape of *form criticism*. The concept of "form" goes back to Herman Gunkel. Gunkel was concerned to isolate and define the various forms (*Formen*) and genres (*Gattungen*) of the Old Testament. He distinguished two broad literary types in the Old Testament: prose and poetry. Prose can be subdivided into myths, folk-tales, sagas, romances, legends, and historical narratives; while the poetic texts can be defined as wisdom texts, prophetic oracles, secular lyric poetry, hymns, thanksgivings, eschatological psalms, etc.[18] Gunkel noticed various introductory formulas (for example, "Sing unto the Lord" and "How long, O Lord?" etc.) which give decisive clues for finding their distinctive types.

According to Gunkel, each type emerges from a specific "setting in the life" of the people. Gunkel put it in this way: "To understand the literary type we must in each case

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[13]B. L Woodard, Jr. and M. E. Travers, "Literary Forms and Interpretation." In *Cracking Old Testament Codes* (Nashville, Tennessee: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 1995), 36.

[14]B. L Woodard, Jr. and M. E. Travers (1995), 37.

[15]Osborne also points out that all generic elements and classifications are "historical and culture bounded"; "distinctions among literary types will differ from period to period. ... so the interpreter must seek to align himself with the author's genre, i.e., to remove himself from the developed genre of later or modern times. Interpretive hermeneutics should therefore play the language game according to its own genre rules (contra Gadamer)" G. R. Osborne (1983), 5, 19.

[16]T. Longman III (1985), 53.

[17]T. Longman III (1985), 55.

[18]See R. N. Soulen, *Handbook of Biblical Criticism* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1981), 72.

have the whole situation clearly before us and ask ourselves, Who is speaking? Who are the listeners? What is the *mise en scène* at that time? What effect is aimed at?"[19]

In spite of many worthwhile insights and contributions to biblical studies, however, many scholars have pointed out the weaknesses and limitations of form criticism.[20]

Baird[21] describes modern genre criticism as an extension of form criticism, since form criticism and genre criticism are concerned with related issues.[22] Klaus Koch, for example, does not distinguish between form (*Form*) and genre (*Gattung*),[23] though other scholars think that such a distinction is necessary and useful.[24]

The most important distinction between the two can be found from the way they approach the text. Form criticism emphasizes the socio-critical aspect of the text, the analysis of its *Sitz im Leben*. Genre criticism is more purely literary, and considers the text in the light of its wider literary context. Thus, while form criticism may be characterised as the study of forms in relation to their roles in human life, genre criticism is a mode of literary analysis that pays special attention to the distinct compositional forms or types found in a given corpus of literature.[25]

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[19]Cited in R. N. Soulen (1981), 72.

[20]D. Greenwood, "Rhetorical Criticism and Formgeschichte: Some Methodological Considerations," *JBL* 89 (1970): 418-26. Greenwood summarises the limitations of form criticism in his article as follows: 1) The form critics tend to lose sight of the forest by concentrating on the individual trees. Form critics usually focus on individual pericopes and small blocks of material, so they tend to neglect the contexts or the whole books to which pericopes or blocks dealt with belong. 2) Gunkel and his followers wrongly thought that every literary type corresponds to one *Sitz im Leben*. In fact some types could well pass through several life settings prior to their final formulation in the Old Testament. Greenwood legitimately argues that "the concept of *Sitz im Leben* may be applied to an entire book rather than merely to the types contained in it" (pp. 418-19). 3) The general assumption of form critics about "folk memory" is the opinion of some literary historians and is questionable on anthropological grounds. Form critics assume that "Hebrew folk memory operated in terms of small linguistic units which grew out of everyday life" (p. 419). 4) Form criticism generalises *all* the examples of any particular literary type in spite of many sub-variations within particular types. 5) Form critics separate the form from the content and focus on the former neglecting the latter. But form and content cannot be divorced from each other. 6) Though form critics agree that *Sitz im Leben* exercises a decisive control over the structure and content of forms, it is of no great help "in those cases when scholars are not agreed on what the original setting really was" (p. 419).

[21]J. A. Baird, "Genre Analysis as a Method of Historical Criticism," in *SBL Proceeding*, vol. 2 (1972), 386. See also B.-K. Ljungberg (1994), 415-33.

[22]It is noticeable, for example, that the entry "Genre" in *the Anchor Bible Dictionary* simply refers back to "Form Criticism" without giving any explanation on this subject. This is the same in R. N. Soulen's *Handbook of Biblical Criticism* (1981).

[23]K. Koch, *The Growth of the Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method* (New York and London: Black, 1969).

[24]See J. A. Baird (1972), 386-87; G. R. Osborne (1983), 4; T. Longman III (1985), 48-50.

[25]G. R. Osborne (1983); B.-K. Ljungberg (1994), 419; E. R. Wendland, "Genre Criticism and the Psalms," in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*, ed. by R. D. Bergen (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 377.

4.2.3. Necessity of genre analysis

One may ask why we should study the genres of the Old Testament. According to Sandy and Giese:

> Though the original readers intuitively recognized the diversity of forms in the Bible and the differences of meaning of words and phrases in those forms, readers today are often unprepared for some of the ancient ways of expressing things. Ways of thinking and writing have changed through the millennia.[26]

Genre is more than a means of classifying literary types.[27] Genre is a hermeneutical device that enables a "fusing of the horizons of both text and reader, while maintaining the integrity of both." Thus genre plays a significant role "in determining the *sensus literalis*, or intended meaning."[28] Osborne concludes,

> Genre as a whole comes into play at the focal point between the author and the text and then again between the text and the reader. As such it brings together all three elements of the interpretation process: writer, text, reader. The key is for the reader to align himself/herself with the originally intended genre, and ... this is both a possible and a necessary enterprise.[29]

4.2.3.1. On the part of the reader

At the very beginning of any reading, consciously or unconsciously, genre identification directs the reader to set up a reading strategy. Genre identification is the initial step in understanding the text.[30] There are many different types of genre,[31] and different kinds of texts give rise to different kinds of expectations.[32] When a reader begins to read a text, he or she soon makes a genre identification whether conscious or not,[33] and this identification orients the reader with certain expectations. According to Barton it is impossible to "understand any text without at least an implicit recognition of

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[26]D. B. Sandy and R. L. Giese, Jr. (1995), 2.

[27]See M. Gerhart, "Generic Competence in Biblical Hermeneutics," *Semeia* 43 (1988): 29-44. M. Gerhart (1988), 33-34, argues that "genres are not only principles of categorization or identification; they are also principles of production. Understood retrospectively, genres can be said to produce, as well as to identify meanings."

[28]G. R. Osborne (1983), 24.

[29]G. R. Osborne (1983), 26-27; see also B.-K. Ljungberg (1994), 421.

[30]It is a matter of debate how we make an initial judgement on genre. T. Longman III (1985), 58-59, briefly deals with this issue. According to him, though some proposed the historical approach (H. R. Jauss and G. P. Firmat) or the deductive approach (N. Frye), the inductive approach seems to be the best. For the works cited, see T. Longman III (1985), ns. 60 and 61 in p. 58. Cf. E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (1967), 76. Hirsch argues that genre (the whole) can be understood only through the texts (the parts) and the texts (the parts) only through genre (the whole).

[31]J. Barton (1984), 16: "All texts must be texts of some kind or type."

[32]M. Gerhart (1988), 31.

[33]M. Gerhart (1988: 31) says that "only by applying the concept of genric [*sic*] competence can we achieve an explanation compatible with the demand that the relationships between readers' experiences and textual forms be intelligible."

the genre to which it belongs,"[34] and he suggests that understanding a text "depends crucially" on decisions about "what a text is to be read *as*."[35]

Barton comments that the reader's initial judgement about genre and his initial attempts at exegesis "play back and forth on each other and are mutually corrective."[36] Hirsch also argues that

> [a]n interpreter's notion of the type of meaning he confronts will powerfully influence his understanding of details ... at every level of sophistication ... [Thus] an interpretation is helplessly dependent on the generic conception with which the interpreter happens to start.[37]

According to Hirsch, the correct understanding of a text does not occur until the reader reaches a correct genre perception of the text considered. Hirsch asserts that meaning is necessarily genre-bound.[38] The identification of genre determines the reading strategy and shapes the interpretation of a text. We should admit, as Longman points out, that many of the debates over the interpretation of the text are really debates over the identification of the text's genre, since the choice of genre directs the reader how to read the message.[39]

4.2.3.2. On the part of the author

Genre identification not only influences the reader's expectations but also directs the author as he produces the text. When an author produces a literary work, he chooses a particular type of literature in order to achieve most effectively his envisaged communicative task. In fact, the reader's dependence on genre in the process of interpreting the text is a direct result of the author's dependence on genre. Hirsch states:

> It is obvious that not only understanding but also speaking must be governed and constituted by a sense of the whole utterance. How does a speaker manage to put one word after another unless his choices and usages are governed by a controlling conception? There must be some kind of overarching notion which controls the temporal sequence of speech, and this controlling notion of the speaker, like that of the interpreter, must embrace a system of expectations.[40]

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[34]J. Barton (1984), 16. See also P. R. House (1990), 33: "Before any literature can be properly interpreted its literary type must be uncovered." R. L. Giese, Jr (1995), 24: "Everyone engages in genre criticism, or classification, at some level."

[35]J. Barton (1984), 5-6.

[36]J. Barton (1984), 18.

[37]E. D. Hirsch (1967), 75.

[38]E. D. Hirsch (1967), 76. Hirsh distinguishes in this process "intrinsic" genre from "extrinsic" genre. An extrinsic genre means that "a generic sense of the whole different from the speaker's." This preliminary genre idea is vague and broad and "must be further sharpened before it can discriminate the functions of the partial meanings in their determinacy" (E. D. Hirsch, 1967: 88). An intrinsic genre is "that sense of the whole by means of which an interpreter can correctly understand any part in its determinacy" (E. D. Hirsch, 1967: 86). Thus an extrinsic genre is a wrong guess, whereas an intrinsic genre is a correct one.

[39]T. Longman III (1988), 21-23.

[40]E. D. Hirsch (1967), 78; see also B.-K. Ljungberg (1994), 421.

After surveying various metaphors used for the description of genre, Longman notes that genre not only provides readers with expectations when they confront a text but also can coerce authors to conform their writings to genre expectations.[41]

4.2.4. Classification of genres

Every literary genre observes its own rules and may therefore be classified on the basis of its distinctive characteristics. Aristotle distinguished literary forms on the basis of three criteria: medium, object, and manner or mode of imitation. By "medium" is meant the kind of language a writer employs, such as poetry or prose; "object" refers to the content of a literature, e.g., comedy or tragedy; and "manner" or "mode" refers to the kind of narration (first person, third person, or direct narration).[42] There is some overlap between the three elements in different genres, but particular combinations of the three factors are unique. According to House, the third factor, i.e., the mode of imitation (narration), is one of the most influential in classifications of genre.[43]

Many scholars have attempted to identify the basic generic types, but different critics classify genres differently using different criteria.[44] Baird describes five phenomena which should be present in every generic type:[45]

1) the characteristics must be unique and set it apart from other literary types in a recognisable way (uniqueness);
2) the criteria must recur with sufficient quantity to establish the genre as a distinct literary pattern (recurrence);
3) the set of characteristics must form a logically coherent pattern with a natural compatibility within the set (coherence);
4) these qualities must persist even after the original *Sitz im Leben* has disappeared (persistence);

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[41]T. Longman III (1985), 51-53.

[42]An individual genre can be distinguished by a distinctive combination of medium, content, and narration. N. Frye calls this combination of factors a literary piece's presentation. N. Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957), quoted in P. R. House (1990), 41.

[43]P. R. House (1990), 40: "Epics normally are narrated by some person chosen by the author, lyrics are narrated by the author himself, and dramas are narrated through direct presentation. ... The author's use of first person, third person, or direct narration affects the nature of the literature." Cf., however, G. R. Osborne (1983), 1, n. 2 .

[44]Gunkel, for example, tried to classify the texts according to three criteria: 1) the mood and thought(s) of the text; 2) the linguistic forms (grammar and vocabulary); 3) the social setting. N. Frye distinguished literary types on the basis of motifs and themes. H. R. Jauss and G. P. Firmat identified texts on the basis of historical notices and titles of books. For a discussion about N. Frye, H. R. Jauss, and G. P. Firmat, see T. Longman III (1985), 59-60.

[45]J. A. Baird (1972), 387-88; cf. G. R. Osborne (1983), 6-7. Cf. J. J. Collins' definition of genre in "Introduction: Towards the Morphology of a Genre," *Semeia* 14 (1979), 1: "By 'literary genre' we mean a group of written texts marked by distinctive recurring characteristics which constitute a recognizable and coherent type of writing."

5) there must be recognisable similarities in style, language and content which "transfer" from one block of the genre tradition to another (transference).

As is the case with any typology, it is not an easy task to classify various literary works into specific categories because of the complexity and much overlapping of categories. What criteria should we use to place genres in their proper category? On what basis are the various classifying criteria determined? Adrian Marino surveys various criteria proposed by many critics and points to the inadequacy of each approach: a "content-oriented" approach is inadequate because an infinite number of contents produces an infinite number of genres; "imitation" is too elusive; a purely "linguistic" approach suggested by Jacobsen is too formal and rigid, etc.[46] Marino suggests both internal and external aspects should be considered. To Marino, the best method for classifying genres is to observe the structure, looking at the internal cohesion of the text.[47]

Another issue which makes the task of classifying literary genres difficult is how many factors should be shared in order to distinguish the genre of one literary work from another. There are different levels of genre. Longman argues that

> genre exists at all levels of generality and that the make-up and nature of a particular genre depends on the viewpoint which the researcher adopts. In other words, it is possible to speak of a broad genre of many texts which have few traits in common, or of a narrow genre of as few as two texts which are identical in many ways. It depends on the decision of the researcher, and his/her decision arises from his/her research needs.[48]

We shall take into account both external and internal characteristics in our genre classification below. By external characteristics we mean the structure of the text and distinctions of prose and poetry, and by the internal characteristics we refer to the mood, setting, function, narrative voice and content of the texts.[49]

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[46]A. Marino, "Toward a Definition of Literary Genres," in *Theories of Literary Genre*, ed. J. P. Strelka (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1978), 41-45; cf. G. R. Osborne (1983), 4.

[47]J. A. Baird (1972), 388-89. Cf. G. R. Osborne (1983), 4. While recognising many insights from Marino's article, Osborne suggests not to disregard the specific features emerged from various approaches and to make use of them all. He, however, does not specify how to do it in practice.

[48]T. Longman III (1985), 57; see also R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III (1994), 30-31.

[49]T. Longman III (1985), 60, calls these internal characteristics as the nonformal aspects of the texts. Cf. also G. R. Osborne (1983), 5.

4.3. Genre of the Pentateuch

It is obvious that the Pentateuch consists of a whole variety of literary genres. In spite of this variety it will be useful to treat all these for a moment as sub-genres and consider the genre of the Pentateuch as a whole.

4.3.1. Biography

Rolf Knierim argues, somewhat bizarrely, that the basic genre of the whole Pentateuch is a biography of Moses.[50] According to him, the Pentateuch consists of two major sections, Genesis and Exodus-Deuteronomy, and the former serves as an introduction to the biography of Moses which appears in Exodus-Deuteronomy.[51]

Van Seters also regards Exodus-Numbers as a biography of Moses. According to Van Seters, however, this biography is not a biography in a conventional sense, since he qualifies the term "biography" as "pseudo-biography": in his view, Moses is not described as an individual in Exodus-Numbers but "is presented entirely in terms of the concerns and destiny of the people." Van Seters describes this kind of biography as a "particular antiquarian historiographic form."[52] But this seems to us to deviate from any normal meaning of the word "biography."

Sailhamer slightly changes Knierim's view and argues that the Pentateuch is a "series of biographies."[53] To Sailhamer, Genesis is not an introduction to the whole Pentateuch but a series of biographies of the patriarchs. Genesis 1-11 provides an introduction to the whole Pentateuch, and then a series of biographies follows, i.e., of Abraham (Gen. 12-26), Jacob (Gen. 27-36), and Joseph (Gen. 37-50). Sailhamer admits that both the Sinai pericope and Deuteronomy contain a large portion of the legal corpora,[54] but argues that if the materials related to the law are excluded, the patriarchal narratives (Gen. 12-50) and the Moses narratives (Exod. 1-18 and Num. 10:11-36:13) take up equally about 20 percent of the Pentateuch.[55] Then he claims that the biographies of the patriarchs are set over against the biography of Moses. Sailhamer argues that a substantial portion of the law was included in the Pentateuch in the final stage of its

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[50]R. P. Knierim, "The Composition of the Pentateuch," in *SBL 1985 Seminar Papers 24* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 393-415. This essay is reproduced in R. P. Knierim, *The Task of Old Testament Theology* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 1995), 351-79.

[51]R. P. Knierim (1995), 354.

[52]J. Van Seters (1994), 2-3.

[53]J. H. Sailhamer, *The Pentateuch as Narrative* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1992), 62-66.

[54]The law sections in Exodus-Numbers are as follows: the Decalogue in Exod. 20; the Book of the Covenant in Exod. 20:22-23:33; the instructions and the implementation of the tabernacle in Exod. 25-31 and 35-40; the priestly code in Lev. 1-16; the Holiness Code in Lev. 17-26; and various lists and other laws in Num. 1-10.

[55]J. H. Sailhamer (1992), 65-66.

composition, and notes the alternation of the law and the narrative sections in the Sinai narratives: Exodus 19:1-25 (narrative), 20:1-17 (Ten commandments), 20:18-21 (narrative), 20:22-23:33 (Covenant code), Exodus 24 (narrative), Exodus 25-31 (Priestly code), Exodus 32-34 (narrative), Exodus 35-Leviticus 16 (Priestly code), Leviticus 17:1-9 (narrative), Leviticus 17-26 (Holiness code).[56] According to Sailhamer, the final form of Exodus-Numbers is the result of an extensive expansion of the biographical Moses narratives (Exod. 1-18 and Num. 10:11-36:13) into which the Sinai pericope was inserted. Sailhamer claims that the juxtaposition of narrative section and the collection of laws demonstrates the final author's compositional strategy.

To bolster his theory Sailhamer claims that the laws in the Pentateuch "were not intended to administrate justice" but "intended as a description of the nature of divine wisdom and justice revealed through Moses."[57] In support of his argument Sailhamer points out that the collections of laws in the Pentateuch are incomplete and selective. On this basis Sailhamer claims that the Mosaic law should be understood as the same way we understand the instructions on the building of the ark in Genesis 6, not so that the reader is to build an ark and load it with animals, but "to show what Noah was to do in response to God's command." Thus the Mosaic law is given to the reader for "an understanding of the nature of the Mosaic Law and God's purpose in giving it to Israel."[58]

Sailhamer's view remains unconvincing. The incompleteness and the selectivity of the law in the Pentateuch do not indicate that the laws were not used in practice: an exhaustive law code has never existed in the history of the ancient Near East.[59] Though the Pentateuch does contain the description of the lives of the patriarchs and Moses, Knierim and Sailhamer's identification of the whole Pentateuch with the biography of Moses or the biographies of the patriarchs and Moses presents a warped picture of the Pentateuch as a whole.

4.3.2. Torah

The Pentateuch, the first five books of the Old Testament, is traditionally known as the Torah. The traditional tripartite division of the Old Testament into *Torah*, *Nevi'im*, *Ketuvim*, provides a clue for the genre of the books in the Old Testament.[60] The Hebrew

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[56]J. H. Sailhamer (1992), 44-57.
[57]J. H. Sailhamer (1992), 64, 65.
[58]J. H. Sailhamer (1992), 63.
[59]Wenham's comment on the problem raised by Zelophehad's daughters (Num. 27:1-11) is more sensible than Sailhamer's view: "When a problem arose without previous precedent, it was referred to Moses, who then sought the Lord's direction. The decision then became a precedent for future similar cases (cf. Num. 15:32-36; Lev. 24:10-23). It seems likely that many of the case laws in the Old Testament originated in a similar way." G. J. Wenham, *Numbers* (Leicester and Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1981), 192.
[60]The tripartite division of the Old Testament into Torah, Prophets, and Writings goes before the time of the New Testament times (cf. Luke 24:44). See the Prologue to the book of Ecclesiasticus (Sirach) from

term "Torah" means "teaching, guidance, instruction, discipline, and law" and as Wenham says, this "expresses more exactly the intention of these books [i.e., the Pentateuch]."[61] Torah, as the collection of the first five books of the Old Testament, "imposes a unity and designates a category."[62] The story in the Pentateuch is not a dispassionate report of what happened in the past but is a "meaningful memory" written with a specific purpose to teach the community of Israel how to live in relation to God.[63]

Though there are laws, songs, genealogies, and lists within the Pentateuch, all these are "carefully embedded in narrative and receive their meaning from the narrative context."[64] It is important to recognise that these materials are presented in a historical framework and "illustrate and illuminate the story of Israel's birth and growth."[65] For this reason Wenham prefers to call the genre of Numbers a "prophetic or theological history" rather than a straight history book or a historical narrative.[66]

In discussing the genre of the Pentateuch as a whole, our designation of the Pentateuch as "torah" does not deny the obvious variety within the Pentateuch. We have already acknowledged that genre classification can be performed at various levels: one may consider a small biblical passage or a much larger context. One genre may contain several subsidiary genres within it, and similarly one genre may be a component of a larger genre.

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about 130 B.C. T. W. Mann, *The Book of the Torah: The Narrative Integrity of the Pentateuch* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1988), 1-2, thinks that the designation of the Pentateuch as "the book of the Torah of Moses" goes back as early as c. 450 B.C. (Neh. 8:1-8) or even almost one hundred years before the time of Ezra. See also F. M. Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 1973), 325; D. J. A. Clines, *The Theme of the Pentateuch* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1978), 97-98; T. C. Eskenazi, "Torah as Narrative and Narrative as Torah," in *Old Testament Interpretation: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. by J. L. Mays and others. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), 14.

[61]G. J. Wenham, *Numbers*. OTG (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 27. See also B. Lindars, "Torah in Deuteronomy," in *Words and Meanings*, ed. by Peter Ackroyd and Barnabas Lindars (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1968), 131: "The term [i.e., *torah*] retains its didactic overtones, and to say 'the book of the divine instruction' might represent the real meaning better than the usual translation 'the book of the law'."

[62]T. C. Eskenazi (1995), 13-14.

[63]T. C. Eskenazi (1995), 13.

[64]T. C. Eskenazi (1995), 14. See also G. W. Coats, *Genesis: With an Introduction to Narrative Literature*, FOTL (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 24.

[65]G. J. Wenham, (1997), 28.

[66]G. J. Wenham, (1997), 28-29.

The Torah is the definitive "guide-book" of ancient Israel.[67] Its purpose is more to instruct than to inform. The Pentateuch records God's dealing with Israel in the past and "from the experience of their forebears later Israelites were intended to learn how to act now, to avoid their predecessors' mistake and imitate their faith and obedience."[68] The individual book of the Pentateuch "offers teaching about God and his ways with Israel in the past, so she may know he expects her to behave in the present."[69]

4.4. Genre of Exodus

The book of Exodus consists of narrative and law. Although a small quantity of poetry appears in Exodus (Exod. 15:1-18, 21; 32:18), this poetry can easily be understood as minor part of the narrative. It may seem difficult to define the whole book in terms of a single genre, and find a concise way to describe the genre of the book.

4.4.1. Heroic narrative

Many scholars have placed the book of Exodus in the category of "heroic narrative," a category in which they also place Numbers and Deuteronomy, since these books describe the life of the "hero" Moses.[70] Heroic narrative focuses on the life and exploits of a significant person, and is characterised by a series of episodes which present an individual's birth,[71] marriage, life work, and death.[72] However, in our view this category, like "biography," does not reflect adequately the overall picture of the book of Exodus, but only presents a partial aspect of the book.

4.4.2. Epic

Mann finds an emphasis on three "characters" in the book of Exodus: "Yahweh as the supreme deity in heaven and earth, Moses as the servant of Yahweh, and Israel as the

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[67]T. W. Mann (1988), 7.
[68]G. J. Wenham, (1997), 27.
[69]G. J. Wenham, (1997), 29.
[70]W. W. Klein, C. L. Blomberg and R. L. Hubbard, Jr., *Introduction to Biblical Interpretation* (1993), 265. Cf. F. F. Greenpahn, "From Egypt to Canaan: A Heroic Narrative" in A. Gileadi (ed.), *Israel's Apostasy and Restoration* (1988), 1-8. Though G. W. Coats (1983), 5-7, 14-15 and B. O. Long (1984), 250, prefer the term "heroic saga" for this category, the term "heroic saga" is avoided by many conservative scholars by reason that saga "tends to consist of largely unhistorical accretions upon a possibly historical nucleus." R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 36; Cf. also T. W. Mann, (1988), 79.
[71]Many considers Moses' birth story to be a conventional device for describing the origin of a heroic figure. See B. S. Childs (1974), 8-10; T. W. Mann (1988), 81.
[72]We have seen that Knierim even argues that the genre of the whole Pentateuch is biography; cf. R. P. Knierim, "The Composition of the Pentateuch," in *SBL 1985 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 409-15. T. W. Mann, *The Book of the Torah* (1988: 79) also construes Exodus-Deuteronomy as the biography of Moses.

kingdom of Yahweh and his 'special possession among all people' (19:5)."[73] Mann finds a close parallel in epic literature of the ancient Near East and suggests the genre for Exodus as "epic."

In our view this may work reasonably well for the historical narratives but does not explain the large "insertions" of indispensable legal material which break up the pace of what might otherwise be considered epic-like narrative.

4.4.3. Prophetic or theological history

The genre of Exodus can be recognised as "theological history." The chronological structure of the book (for example, the chronological notes in Exod. 12:40, 41; 16:1; 19:1) indicates a historical impulse to the book. Dillard and Longman at first describe Exodus as "history," then they call this history "theological or prophetic" because of the particular intention expressed in the writing of history in Exodus. The purpose of history in the book of Exodus is not simply to portray the heroic man Moses but rather to reveal the nature of God through His great acts in the history.[74]

But Dillard and Longman stretch matters too far when they find "no dramatic genre shifts" between the books of the Pentateuch, themselves, and none between the Pentateuch and the historical books either.[75] It is hard to see Leviticus and Deuteronomy as having the same genre, even though they both sit in the Pentateuch.

The historical framework and the style of Exodus suggest that the reader may safely read the book as a work of theological history. As a consequence, it is important to see the laws embedded in Exodus in the light of the historical framework which surrounds them. As Dillard and Longman observe, "the law is not just an appendage or separate part of the book but flows within the history of redemption."[76]

> History and theology are closely connected in the biblical text. ... [B]iblical history is ... history narrated with a divine purpose. For this reason, commentators have referred to biblical history as "theological history," "prophetic history," and "covenantal history."[77]

It is worth noting that the genre of Exodus as theological history can be extended into the book of Numbers. Milgrom recognises a range of genres in Numbers--narrative,

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[73]T. W. Mann (1988), 79.

[74]R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III (1994), 64: "Biblical historical narrative has a theological and didactic function, besides its historical intention." We should also note that this category could be applied quite widely in the Old Testament (e.g., Kings or Jeremiah 39-44).

[75]R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III (1994), 49.

[76]R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III (1994), 64. See also W. Malcolm Clark, "Law," in *Old Testament Form Criticism*, ed. by John H. Hayes (1974), 99-139.

[77]R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III (1994), 22.

poetry, prophecy, victory song, prayer, blessing, diplomatic letter, civil law, cultic law, census list, itinerary (no less than 14 types)[78]--but all of these categories may be considered sub-genres, existing in isolated episodes of the text, while the genre of Numbers as a whole can be best identified as "instructional historical writing."[79]

Exodus is also made up of a number of different forms of literature (narrative, law, and poetry), but still maintains a narrative plot and recounts past events: the Israelites' sojourn and slavery in Egypt, the deliverance accompanied by miraculous events, the wilderness journey, and the giving of the law. It is interesting to note how the incident of the golden calf is placed between the instructions of the tabernacle and its implementation.

The relationship between narrative and law in the book of Exodus is one of the important issues in the study of the genre of Exodus. But the integrity of narrative and law in Exodus (and in Deuteronomy as well) can be supported by reference to examples of Hittite treaties which also blend laws with historical narrative.[80]

4.4.4. The narrative structure of Exodus 24:12-40:43

The narrative of the golden calf is surrounded by the instructions for the tabernacle (Exod. 25-31) and its implementation (Exod. 35-40). If Exodus 32-34, as argued recently by some,[81] is considered to be a well organised compositional unity and artfully placed in the book of Exodus, what is the purpose of placing Exodus 32-34 at the present place in the book of Exodus?

The section on the instructions of the tabernacle is concluded by the giving of the stone tablets (Exod. 31:18). Thus, Exodus 24:12-18 which describes Moses' ascent of the mountain for the receiving of the stone tablets should be considered to be an introduction to Exodus 25-31. In the following we are going to investigate the relationship of the narrative of the golden calf (Exod. 32-34) as a whole with its surrounding narratives, Exodus 24:12-31:18 and Exodus 35-40.

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[78]J. Milgrom, *Numbers* (1990), xiii.

[79]R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III (1994), 74-75, 86, describe even the genre of Leviticus as "instructional historical writing," in spite of the presence of high proportion of law within the book, by recognising the narrative setting in the initial episode (Lev. 1) and in the middle of the book (Lev. 8-10, 16). In fact, they argue that the genre of the Pentateuch as a whole is instructional history.

[80]J. B. Pritchard (Ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton University Press, 1969), 201-206, see also 188-97, 346-61. Cf. W. J. Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation* (1984), 94-96.

[81]There is a growing tendency to regard Exod. 32-34 as an originally unified composition. See L. Perlitt (1969), 203-32; R. W. L. Moberly (1983); E. Blum (1990), 72-75; J. Blenkinsopp (1992), 193-94; J. Van Seters (1994), 310-28. See also E. W. Nicholson (1986), 134-50, for a critical review of this alternative.

Exodus 24:12 to the end of the book alternates between narrative and legal sections. Exodus 24:12-18 is a narrative. Then, Exodus 25-31 presents the instructions on the tabernacle. Exodus 32-34 is again a narrative, followed by the implementation of the instructions for the tabernacle. Exodus 35-40 describes the actual making and erection of the tabernacle, and thus this section could be regarded as narrative rather than the law in a strict sense. Most of the material in Exodus 35-40, however, is repeated from Exodus 25-31 and is usually regarded as the P material. The issue whether Exodus 35-40 belongs to the narrative or the law section does not affect our discussion. Either way it is safe to remark that Exodus 24:12-40:38 consists of the juxtaposition of narrative and law.

The narrative of the golden calf plays a crucial role in the larger context of Exodus 24:12-40:38.[82] Exodus 35-40 seems to be based on Exodus 25-31. Exodus 35-40, however, omits materials which are inappropriate in the context of the construction of the tabernacle,[83] sometimes adds materials[84] and arranges them in a different order from the instructions given in Exodus 25-31. If we consider 24:12-40:38 on its own, it can be seen to have a deliberate chiastic structure. The cloud and fire theophany motif of Exodus 24:12-18 precedes the instructions for the tabernacle, and the fulfilment of these instructions is finished with another cloud and fire theophany motif in Exodus 40:34-38. The sabbath pericope is employed at the end of the instruction section (Exod. 31:12-17) and again at the beginning of the implementation section (Exod. 35:1-3). Moreover, the basic order of the instructions and its implementation is also chiastic. The structure can be shown diagrammatically as follows:

A. Cloud/fire theophany (24:15-18)
  B. Ark, table, and lampstand (25:10-40)
    C. Tabernacle (26:1-37)[85]
      D. Bezalel and Oholiab (31:1-11)
        E. Sabbath (31:12-17)
          F. Incident of the golden calf (31:18-34:35)
        E'. Sabbath (35:1-3)
      D'. Bezalel, Oholiab, and other artisans (35:10-36:7)
    C'. Tabernacle (36:8-38)
  B'. Ark, table, and lampstand (37:1-24)
A'. Cloud/fire theophany (40:34-38)

Exodus deliberately repeats the long construction section of the tabernacle in order to put the story of the golden calf at the centre of the chiastic section in Exodus 24:12-40:38 in stead of simply saying that "they made everything as Yahweh commanded."

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[82]N. M. Sarna (1986), 215.

[83]E.g., the instructions of the ordination of the priests in 29:1-46 or the collection of the atonement money in 30:11-16.

[84]E.g., a summary of the metal used for the construction of the tabernacle and its courtyard in 38:21-31.

[85]Various instructions and command (e.g., the altar of burnt offering, the courtyard, and the priestly garments, etc.) appear after the section C (see Exod. 27-28). Their counterparts, however, do not appear before the section C' but after the section B' (see Exod. 38-39).

The reason for structuring Exodus 24:12-40:38 as deliberately chiastic seems to be to demonstrate the validity of the promise of Yahweh to dwell in the midst of the people even after the disastrous apostasy of the golden calf. Before the golden calf incident Yahweh commanded Moses to make the tabernacle in order that he may dwell in their midst (Exod. 25:8). The promise of Yahweh's dwelling, however, is now threatened by the apostasy of the golden calf. In spite of the golden calf incident, the large chiastic structure of Exodus 24:12-40:38 functions as a sign of the covenant renewal between Yahweh and Israel, and Exodus 35-40 functions as a fulfilment of Yahweh's promise (Exod. 25:8) that he will dwell in the midst of the people.

4.5. Genre of Exodus 32-34

Exodus 32 seems to consist of several different types of material: accounts of the people's apostasy (Exod. 32:1-6), the announcement of Yahweh's judgment (32:7-10), Moses' intercessory prayers (32:11-14, 30-32; 33:12-23), the atonement made by the Levites (32:25-29), Yahweh's judgment (32:34-35), and the renewal of the covenant (Exod. 34). It seems there exists no genre which comprehends all these features, and because of the variety of the types contained in Exodus 32-34 it is not easy to define *the* genre of Exodus 32-34 adequately. The purpose of our study in this section is to seek the most satisfactory way of describing the overall genre of this episode.

4.5.1. Exodus 32-34 as intercession

It might be argued that intercession is a key feature of the incident, since without Moses' intercession there would have been disastrous for the people. Intercession stories as a genre are not unknown, and perhaps the most notable is that in the Abraham narratives in Genesis.

Abraham intervenes to avert the divine wrath that was about to come upon others (Gen. 18:23-32), interceding for the innocent who might be found in Sodom and Gomorrah.

> It is not called a prayer in the text. In form it is a dialogue between Abraham and God. But its character as intercession is unmistakable. ... Rather than keeping this from being a prayer, the form of the prayer transforms it into a genuine dialogue or conversation with God. There is give-and-take, pleading and response. The one who prays for the sinful people will not let the matter go quickly. And the one who listens is patient and willing to attend to the

> intercession. ... In this conversation with God, ... the intercessor Abraham is importunate. He will not be put off easily and presses God to the limit.[86]

In most cases intercession for others takes place when individuals or the people are under threat of divine judgment. The purpose of the intercession is "to avert the divine judgment and remove the present or pending disaster, which [is] God's punishment for the sin of the people or of the individual."[87]

> Time and again Moses prayed to the Lord to take away judgment from the people, sometimes at their request and sometimes out of his own sense of solidarity with the people he led. ... [H]e prayed to avert God's powerful wrath upon the people ... Repeatedly, Moses had to intercede for the people in the wilderness as the Lord became angry again and again for the complaints and disobedience of the people.[88]

Although "intercession" may fairly be acknowledged as a sub-genre within the narrative, there is much more to Exodus 32-34 than Moses' intercession, and another term has to be found which better describes the genre of the whole episode.

4.5.2. Exodus 32-34 as a rebellion story

The great apostasy of Israel with the golden calf took place at Mount Sinai, which may be considered as the mid-point between Egypt and the promised land, not only geographically but also theologically. The people came out from the slavery of Egypt, continued their journey to the promised land and after the crossing of the Red Sea they travelled into the wilderness. At Sinai they made a covenant with Yahweh and stayed there about a year. Then they travelled again into the wilderness until they arrived at the plains of Moab (Num. 22:1). These two wilderness narratives (Exod. 15:22-18:27 and Num. 10:11-22:1) envelop the Sinai narrative (Exod. 19-Num. 10:10).

The motif of "murmuring" provides a major theme for the wilderness wanderings. Many scholars have pointed out the striking correspondences between the wilderness narratives before Sinai and those afterwards.[89] The most striking parallels are the pairs of stories about "the giving of manna and quails" in Exodus 16 and Numbers 11, and "the water from the rock" in Exodus 17:1-7 and Numbers 20:1-13.

The golden calf incident is not only placed at the centre of the two wilderness narratives but also has many common features which appear in the rebellion stories in the wilderness narratives. There appear to be stereotyped expressions of complaint in the

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[86]P. D. Miller, *They Cried to the Lord: The Form and Theology of Biblical Prayer* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 267-8.
[87]P. D. Miller (1994), 266.
[88]P. D. Miller (1994), 266.
[89]For e.g., B. S. Childs (1974), 254-64; G. J. Wenham (1981), 16-17; D. T. Olson (1996), 61-63.

rebellion stories in Exodus and Numbers, and many of the features mentioned at the beginning of this section (i.e., the accounts of the people's rebellion, Yahweh's announcement of the judgment, Moses' intercession, Yahweh's judgment, and the deliverance), can also be found in other rebellion stories in the wilderness.[90] We shall therefore investigate how far the golden calf incident is similar to other rebellion stories.

The rebellion story usually displays the following pattern:[91] first, the people gather against their leader(s). Second, they present their complaint. Third, Yahweh is angry and announces a judgment or executes a punishment. Fourth, the people repent in response to Yahweh's anger. Fifth, the leader intercedes on behalf of the people. Finally, the deliverance is secured.

4.5.3. Rebellion stories in Exodus and Numbers

We shall compare the golden calf episode in Exodus 32-34 with the typical rebellion stories in the wilderness and then we shall see whether the genre of Exodus 32-34 can be identified as a rebellion story.[92]

4.5.3.1. Water at Marah (Exod. 15:22-26)

After the crossing of the Red Sea the Israelites travelled without water for three days to find only the unpalatable water at Marah. The discontented people grumbled against Moses. Moses cried out to Yahweh. On Yahweh's command Moses threw a piece of wood into the water, and the water became sweet. No judgment against the people appears here. Instead Yahweh made a decree and a law for them.

4.5.3.2. Manna and quail (Exod. 16:1-36)

The second rebellion story immediately follows the first one in Exodus 16. All the Israelites, longing for the "fleshpots" of Egypt, grumbled against Moses and Aaron. This time the people's complaint against Moses and Aaron is identified as grumbling against Yahweh (Exod. 16:8), but Yahweh is gracious and provides the people with manna.

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[90]G. J. Wenham (1981), 17; cf. especially Exod. 32 with Num. 14:1-37; 25:1-9.

[91]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 174.

[92]Martin Noth (1972: 123-24) defines the murmuring as "a narrative motif which has become stereotyped within the theme 'guidance in the wilderness.' " G. W. Coats (1968) argues that the murmuring motif derived from the cult of Jerusalem during the early period of the divided monarchy and that served as a polemic against the northern kingdom (cf. Ps. 78). However, B. S. Childs (1974: 256-57) argues, pointing out the continual use of this motif in subsequent history, that the conflict of the divided kingdom is a later application rather than the origin of the tradition.

4.5.3.3. Water from the rock (Exod. 17:1-7)

The third rebellion took place at Rephidim, not far from Sinai. When the people did not find water to drink, they quarrelled with Moses. At Yahweh's command Moses struck the rock and the water came out, and the people quenched their thirst. God provided water for a contentious people who challenged whether his presence was among them.

4.5.3.4. Fire from Yahweh at Taberah (Num. 11:1-3)

The first rebellion story in Numbers appears immediately after their departure from Mount Sinai. The people complained about their misfortunes, and Yahweh punished them by sending a fire which consumed the outskirts of the camp. In their distress, the people appealed to Moses to intercede on their behalf and, as a result of his prayer, the fire died out.

4.5.3.5. Quail at Kibroth Hattaavah (Num. 11:4-35)

A rabble instigated the people to complain of their food. The people, who had grown weary of the monotony of the manna, craved meat, fish and vegetables which they had eaten in Egypt. Moses pleaded to Yahweh to ease his burdens. Yahweh appointed seventy elders, on the one hand, and brought the Israelites enormous flocks of quail. However, the murmuring of the people called forth God's anger. He sent the quails, but in the form of a judgment. The meat became loathsome from its sheer abundance, and Yahweh struck the people with a severe plague while the meat was still between their teeth.

4.5.3.6. Miriam and Aaron's rebellion against Moses (Num. 12:1-16)

The next rebellion is Miriam and Aaron's challenge to the authority and leadership of Moses. Miriam and Aaron complained against Moses because of his Cushite wife. The primary issue of their complaint, however, was Moses' unique role as the supreme channel of God's word to the Israelites. Yahweh's anger was kindled against them, and he struck Miriam with a skin disease. Moses cried out to Yahweh on behalf of Miriam and Yahweh healed her.

4.5.3.7. Rebellion of the spies (Num. 14:1-44)

The decisive rebellion took place after the return of the twelve spies from the promised land. On hearing negative reports by the spies from the promised land, the

whole people grumbled against Moses and Aaron, refusing to go into the promised land. They planned to choose a new leader and return to Egypt. God responded in anger by condemning the old wilderness generation to die in the desert. The entry into the promised land was postponed for forty years. The spies except for Joshua and Caleb were killed by a plague. Then the people attempted to take the promised land through their own effort. They were defeated by the Amalekites.

4.5.3.8. Korah, Dathan and Abiram (Num. 16:1-17:5 [Eng. 16:1-35])

Korah, Dathan, and Abiram and two hundred and fifty other Israelites men challenged Moses and Aaron in their roles as leader, and God caused the earth to swallow some of them while others were burned with divine fire.

4.5.3.9. Plague (Num. 17:6-15 [Eng. 16:41-50])

This rebellion story is a sequel to the rebellion by the Korah and his company. After the death of the rebels, the whole Israelite congregation charged Moses and Aaron with killing those who were involved in the rebellion of Korah. Yahweh struck the people with plague and over 14,000 people died. The plague was stopped by Aaron's act of atonement.

4.5.3.10. Water from the rock at Meribah (Num. 20:1-13)

After a brief note on the death and burial of Miriam the rebellion of Moses and Aaron took place. The people quarrelled with Moses about the lack of water in the wilderness, and Moses struck the rock twice with his staff, water came out abundantly, and the congregation and their livestock drank. The successful miracle is unexpectedly followed by God's severe judgment on Moses and Aaron. God announces that Moses and Aaron would not lead Israel to the promised land.

4.5.3.11. Bronze snake (Num. 21:4-9)

The next took place after the brother nation, Edom, refused to let them pass through their territory (Num. 21:4-9). The people complained against God and Moses of their detour around the land of Edom, and of the lack of water and the miserable food. God sent poisonous snakes as a judgment against the people, which bit and killed many of them. The people asked Moses to pray to God to take away the serpents. God instructed Moses to make a bronze snake and to set it on a pole so that those who looked at it could be healed.

4.5.3.12. The apostasy of Israel and the zeal of Phinehas (Num. 25:1-18)

The final rebellion took place in the plains of Moab. The Israelite men had sexual relations with the Moabite and the Midianite women along with the apostasy of worshipping their gods at Shittim in the plains of Moab. The severe plague which killed 24,000 Israelites was stopped by Phinehas' zealous action by piercing the Israelite and his Midianite consort through their body.

4.5.4. The characteristics of a rebellion story

There appear to be stereotypical structures and expressions in these rebellion stories.

4.5.4.1. Gathering of rebels

First of all, the rebels "gather together" against their leader(s) and/or the rebels grumble against their leader(s). In the typical rebellion stories the verb קהל or יעד is used with the preposition על to express the hostile assembly of the rebels.[93] For example, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram and two hundred and fifty other Israelites leaders "gathered together" [קהל] against Moses and Aaron (Num. 16:3). In Numbers 17 the congregation "gathered together" [קהל] against Moses and Aaron (17:7). In the story about the water from the rock at Meribah (Num. 20:1-13) the congregation "gathered together" [קהל] against Moses and Aaron (Num. 20:2). Korah and all his followers "banded" [יעד] against Yahweh (Num. 16:11a; see also 27:3). Besides the verbs קהל and יעד, the verb קום with the preposition לפני also expresses the hostile assembly of the rebels.[94]

The verb לון ("to murmur/rebel") with the preposition על ("against") is another typical expression which recurs in the rebellion stories.[95] The verb לון occurs fifteen times in the Old Testament, each with the preposition על. All occurrences, except Joshua 9:18, are found in six chapters in the Pentateuch.[96] In each case the subject of the murmuring is all of the congregation of Israel: העם, בני ישראל, כל בני ישראל, or כל־עדת בני ישראל.[97] The object of the verbal assaults is usually Moses and Aaron (Exod.

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[93]Num. 14:35; 16:11; 27:3 (for יעד); and Exod. 32:1; Num. 16:3, 19; 17:7; 20:2 (for קהל). The subject of the verb is usually the whole people of Israel (Num. 16:11 is the only exception; see כל־העדה הרעה הזאת in Num. 14:35). The object of the preposition על is usually their leaders (Moses and Aaron in Exod. 16:2; Num. 16:3; 17:7; 20:2; Aaron alone in Num. 16:11). In some cases Yahweh himself is presented as the object of the preposition על (Num. 14:35; 16:11; 27:3).

[94]Korah, Dathan, and Abiram and two hundred and fifty other Israelites leaders rose up before/against Moses [וַיָּקֻמוּ לִפְנֵי מֹשֶׁה] (Num. 16:2).

[95]The verb לון means to express resentment, dissatisfaction, anger, and complaint by grumbling in half-muted tones of hostile opposition to God's leaders and the authority which he has invested in them.

[96]Exodus 15, 16 (four times), 17; Numbers 14 (five times), 16, 17 (twice).

[97]Num. 16:11, however, may refer only to Korah and his followers (See Num. 16:19). The subject of the Hiphil of לון in Num. 14:36 is the spies; here, however, the agent of the verb is כל־העדה.

16:2; Num. 14:2); occasionally, Moses is singled out (Exod. 15:24; 17:3; Num. 14:36) or Aaron (Num. 16:11); at other times Yahweh himself is the object of their abuse (Exod. 16:7-8; Num. 14:27, 29). In the final analysis, however, their murmuring was always against God who commissioned the leaders of the people. The true nature of this murmuring is seen in the fact that it is an open act of rebellion against Yahweh (Num. 14:9) and a refusal to believe God's word and God's miraculous works (Num. 14:11, 22, 23).

4.5.4.2. Presentation of complaints

Once the rebels have gathered together to grumble against their leader(s), the people present their complaints. In the typical rebellion stories the content of their complaints can be lack of water (Exod. 15:24; 17:2-3), lack of food (Exod. 16:3; Num. 11:4-6), Moses' leadership (Num. 16:3) or the difficulties of the journey (Num. 21:4). The protests, especially in Exodus, seem to be well founded on the surface, but in fact the people's complaints are a disguise. Behind their complaints there lies an ultimate challenge against Yahweh. The crisis merely seems to provide an opportunity for their real complaint, which in many cases turns out to be the "anti-Exodus motif." In other words, they regret they have come out of Egypt, and they desire to go back to Egypt. As the exodus out of Egypt is directly attributable to Yahweh,[98] the anti-Exodus motif is an overt negation of what Yahweh has accomplished for them.[99]

In Exodus 16 the story does not begin with a genuine need, but with the people yearning for the food of Egypt and regretting not having died in Egypt--a typical anti-Exodus motif. Often the complaint is couched in the stereotypical manner: "Why did you bring us out of Egypt?" (Exod. 17:3; Num. 11:20; 20:5, etc.). Here Moses is accused of causing the death of the nation by leading them out into the wilderness. The anti-Exodus motif may be considered as a most serious rebellion against God, since Israel's repudiation of this deliverance obviously struck at the heart of the relationship between Yahweh and his people. In short, the people's complaint is not a casual "gripe," but unbelief which calls into question God's very election of his people.[100]

4.5.4.3. God's reaction

In many cases Yahweh granted the people's request. At Marah (Exod. 15:22-27), for example, Yahweh provided for the people with water. In the story of Manna and

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[98]E.g., Exod. 3:8, 17; 7:4, 5; 12:42, 51; 13:3, 9, 14; and most prominently, Exod. 20:2.

[99]M. Noth (1972), 123-24, has defined murmuring as "a narrative motif which has become stereotyped within the theme 'guidance in the wilderness.' " G. W. Coats (1968) argues that the murmuring motif derived from the cult of Jerusalem during the early period of the divided monarchy and that served as a polemic against the northern kingdom (cf. Ps. 78).

[100]B. S. Childs (1974), 285.

quail (Exod. 16:1-36) Yahweh provided the people with manna. Again in the story about the water from the rock (Exod. 17:1-7), Yahweh commanded Moses to strike the rock with his staff before the elders of Israel.

However, God dealt with the Israelites differently in the stories in Numbers. When the people complained for no particular reason in Numbers 11:1-3, God's anger flamed up and he punished them, consuming the outskirts of the camp with fire (11:1b). Again at Kibroth Hattaavah (11:4-35) Yahweh was made exceedingly angry by the people's craving for meat (11:10a), and he sent quails in the form of a judgment until they become loathsome (11:18-20) and struck the people with a severe plague while the meat was still between their teeth. When Miriam and Aaron opposed Moses' leadership (12:1-16), Yahweh vindicated the supremacy of Moses in front of them (12:4-8) and Yahweh struck Miriam with a "leprosy" (12:10). When the people rebelled in response to the negative report of the spies (Num. 14), Yahweh announced his judgment upon the people (14:11-12). Although Yahweh changed his plan to consume the people in response to Moses' intercession, he did kill those who were responsible for spreading the bad report about the land (14:36-37), and announced forty years of wandering in the wilderness for the exodus generation (14:20-36).

In the rebellion of Korah and his company (16:1-17:5 [Eng. 16:1-35]), Yahweh announced to Moses and Aaron that he would destroy the congregation (16:20-21), but in response to Moses' entreaty Yahweh killed only Korah and his company (16:31-35). In the rebellion by the whole congregation, the sequel to the Korah incident, (17:6-15 [Eng. 16:41-50]), Yahweh struck the people with a plague and over 14,000 people died, and the plague was stopped by Aaron's act of atonement. At Meribah (20:1-13) God denied Moses and Aaron's opportunity to enter the promised land (20:12). When the people complained about their hardship in journey (21:4-9), God sent poisonous snakes as a judgment against the people, which bit and killed many of them (21:6).

As we have seen, Yahweh is angry and announces judgment or executes punishment in the rebellion stories in the book of Numbers, but in contrast no judgment or punishment by Yahweh appears in the rebellion stories in the book of Exodus, or to be more precise, in the rebellions in the pre-Sinai narratives. The complaints that Israel made to God before Sinai, before the giving of the commandments and the making of the covenant (and before the golden calf episode), are treated as legitimate.

> [A]lthough the people are often ungrateful and disloyal, the divine blessing and graciousness pervade the narrative. Israel's time in the wilderness is finally shaped by God's incredible patience and mercy and the divine will to stay with Israel in this time of their adolescence as children of God.[101]

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[101]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 172.

Childs distinguished two patterns of rebellions stories.[102] In pattern 1 the people are in need; Moses intercedes and God supplies their want. In pattern 2 the people murmur without a genuine need, God is angry and sends judgment, Moses intercedes and the punishment is abated.[103]

4.5.4.4. Repentance

In the post-Sinai rebellion stories the people usually repent in response to Yahweh's judgment, whereas in the pre-Sinai rebellion stories the people's repentance does not appear, nor is there any judgment from Yahweh. For example, at Marah (Exod. 15:22-27) and in the story of the water from the rock (Exod. 17:1-7), the people's reaction to Yahweh's provision is not recorded. In the Manna and quail story (Exod. 16:1-36) some Israelites did not keep Yahweh's command by not completely consuming manna, and by gathering manna on the seventh day. However, Yahweh did not punish them.

In the spies incident, however, in Numbers 14, when they heard Yahweh's harsh judgment the people mourned bitterly and confessed their sin (14:39, 40b). Similarly when the people were dying because of the poisonous serpents in Numbers 21:4-9 the people confessed their sin and asked Moses to pray to God to take away the serpents (21:7a).

4.5.4.5. Intercession

The leader intercedes on behalf of the people. At Marah (Exod. 15:22-27) and in the story of the water from the rock (Exod. 17:1-7) Moses prayed to Yahweh: וַיִּצְעַק (מֹשֶׁה) אֶל־יְהוָה (15:25; 17:4a).

When the fire came out from Yahweh at Taberah (Num. 11:1-3), Moses prayed [וַיִּתְפַּלֵּל] on behalf of the people (11:2b). Miriam is punished for speaking against Moses but is ultimately healed through Moses' intercession (Num. 12:1-16). In the sequel to the Korah incident the whole congregation rebelled against Moses and Aaron (Num. 17:6-15 [Eng. 16:41-50]); but the plague was stopped by Aaron's act of atonement. (17:12-15 [Eng. 16:47-50]).

Similarly, when the people craved for meat at Kibroth Hattaavah (Num. 11:4-35), Moses pleaded [וַיֹּאמֶר] to Yahweh to ease his burden (11:11-15). In Number 12 Moses

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[102]B. S. Childs (1974), 258-59.
[103]See also D. T. Olson, *Numbers* (1996), 61.

prayed [צעק] for Miriam's healing (12:13). In the rebellion of the spies (Num. 14) Moses interceded [אמר] on behalf of the people (14:13-19).

4.5.4.6. Deliverance

Finally, the deliverance is achieved. At Marah (Exod. 15:22-27) Moses threw a piece of wood into the water, and the water became sweet (15:25a). Yahweh provided for the needs of his people by purifying polluted water and by guiding them through wasteland to an oasis overflowing with water.

In the story of Manna and quail (Exod. 16:1-36) Yahweh provided for Israel with food in the wilderness (16:4-5, 12-13), and the people rested on the seventh day (16:30). Yahweh graciously provided water from the rock for his people (Exod. 17:1-7). In the story of the bronze snake (Num. 21:4-9) God instructed Moses to make a bronze snake and to set it on a pole so that those who looked at it could be healed (21:8-9).

Though not every feature occurs in every incident, the following table shows the characteristics of the typical rebellion stories.

Summary table

	Gathering of rebels	Complaint	Reason	Anti-Exodus motif	Judgment	Moses' prayer	Deliverance
Ex. 15:22-26	none	15:24a [לון ... על]	bitter water	none	none	15:25 [צעק]	15:25
Ex. 16:1-36	none	16:2, 7, 8 [לון ... על]	lack of food and craving for meat	16:3	Moses and Aaron's rebuke against the people (16:6 8)	none	16:4, 12-14
Ex. 17:1-7	none	17:2 [ריב ... עם]; 17:3 [לון ... על]; 17:7 [נסה]	lack of the water	17:3	none	17:4a [צעק]	17:5-6
Num. 11:1-3	none	11:1a [רע כמתאננים]	on the unspecified ground	none	11:1	11:2b [התפלל]	11:2
Num. 11:4-35	none	11:10 [בכה]	monotony of manna	11:4-6; cf. vv. 18, 20	11:19-20, 33 34	11:11-15 [אמר]	none
Num. 12:1-16	none	12:1 speaking against Yahweh [דבר ... ב]	Moses' Cushite wife; Moses' unique leadership	none	12:10	12:13 [צעק]	none
Num. 14:1-44	14:35 [יעד ... על]	14:2; cf. 14:27 [x2], 29, 36 [לון ... על]	negative report by the spies	14:2-4	14:11-12, 26 35	14:13-19 [אמר]	14:20
Num. 16:1-17:5	16:2 [קום לפני]; 16:3 [קהל ... על]; 16:11a [יעד ... על]	none	Moses and Aaron's role as leaders	16:13	16:20-21;	16:22 [אמר]	none
Num. 17:6-15 [Eng. 16:41-50]	17:7 [קהל ... על]	17:6 [Eng. 16:41] [לון ... על] Moses and Aaron	death of the rebels	none	17:10-12 [Eng. 16:45 47]	none[104]	17:12-15 [Eng. 16:47 50]
Num. 20:1-13	20:2 [קהל ... על]	20:3, 13 [ריב]	lack of water; not trusting in Yahweh	20:3-5	20:12	(20:6?)	20:10-11
Num. 21:4-9	none	21:5 [דבר ב] speaking against Yahweh	hardship of the journey; being impatient [קצר]	21:5	21:6	21:7 [התפלל]	21:8-9
Num. 25:1-18	none	none	none	none	25:3-5, 7-9	none	none
Exod. 32-34	32:1 [קהל ... על]	none	Moses' delay in coming down from the mountain (32:1)	32:1, 4, 8 [?]	Yahweh's announcement of judgment (32::10); destruction of the tablets and the calf (19-20); punishment by the Levites (25 28, 33-35)	32:11-14; 32:31-32; 33:12-18; 34:9 [חלה פני] is used once in 32:11a; thereafter Moses' prayer is introduced by [אמר]	none

[104]Moses does not pray here but he commands Aaron to make atonement for the people (Num. 17:11 [Eng. 16:46]).

4.5.5. Exodus 32-34 as a rebellion story

We shall examine whether Exodus 32-34 can be legitimately described as a rebellion story for its genre.

1) Exodus 32:1 begins with a typical expression used in the rebellion stories: the people "assembled against" Aaron: וַיִּקָּהֵל הָעָם עַל־אַהֲרֹן. The combination of a Niphal waw consecutive imperfect of the verb קהל and the preposition על is usually used to describe a murmuring event.[105]

2) The people present their complaints. They are impatient at the delay of Moses in coming down from the mountain and ask Aaron to make them אֱלֹהִים who shall go before them (Exod. 32:1). In Exodus 32 it is not clear immediately whether the people's complaint is an attack against Yahweh or not. They do not ask to return to Egypt but ask Aaron to designate an authority for continuing the journey to Canaan. At a first glance the people's complaint seems to be directed only against Moses and not to deny Yahweh's past work on their behalf, for their demand is to substitute Moses [זֶה מֹשֶׁה] with אֱלֹהִים to ensure their journey ahead.

It is clear, however, that the real problem is not the absence/presence of Moses, though the expression "this Moses" reveals their contempt for him. Their subsequent actions, the making of the calf and especially their proclamation before the calf, clearly reveal their real intent. It is clear that the people were not simply asking for a substitute for the absent Moses but for Yahweh. "[T]he focus of the unit is on the negation of the covenant established between Yahweh and Israel through Moses on Sinai."[106]

The proclamation which ascribes the exodus deliverance to this fabricated figure (Exod. 32:4, 8) indicates the people's overt rejection of Yahweh's role in the exodus. Exodus constantly reminds the reader that "Yahweh alone is to be confessed as Israel's redeemer from Egyptian bondage"[107] (see Exod. 18:1, 8-10; 19:4; 20:2; 29:46).

> The goal of the exodus deliverance, that the people be freed to serve Yahweh (see 3:18), has taken a disastrous turn--the people also serve another and give that other doxologies for their deliverance. The people's action, of course, is in direct violation of Exodus 20:4. But the word "disobedience" is not adequate for what has happened. This action is a fundamental act of disloyalty to the God who had delivered them and entered into an intimate relationship with them.[108]

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[105]Num. 16:3; 17:7; 20:2. See G. W. Coats (1968), 24-25, 188.
[106]G. W. Coats (1968), 188.
[107]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 282.
[108]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 282.

3) In the typical rebellion story Yahweh is angry and announces judgment or executes punishment. Here in Exodus 32 Yahweh says to Moses: "Now let me alone, so that my wrath may burn hot against them and I may consume them" (Exod. 32:10). But as we have noted, this is not typical of the Exodus rebellion stories, but is the pattern in Numbers.

To compound the difference between this and the other Exodus rebellion stories, in the golden calf narrative Yahweh's judgment appears several times. At first Yahweh declares that he would annihilate the people in order to start again by building a nation with Moses (Exod. 32:10).

In the event it was not Yahweh but Moses who brought the punishment to the people. Moses destroys the calf (32:20) and punishes those who were involved in the idolatry, by involving the Levites (32:25-29). Interestingly, as M. Walzer pointed out, "Exodus 32 is the only place within the wilderness narratives where YHWH does not directly punish the rebellion of Israel through fire, plague, serpent, etc., but does so through Moses (cf. Num. 11:1 ff.; 16:41-49; 21:5f.)."[109]

Yahweh's next judgment appears after Moses' second intercession (32:31-32). Yahweh reaffirms the promise to the patriarchs of the land, but says that the promise of the sustaining presence of God in the midst of the people is no longer in force (33:1-3). This refusal of Yahweh's own intimate presence clearly marks Yahweh's judgment. The people's stripping of their ornaments by the command of Yahweh (33:4-6) demonstrates another aspect of Yahweh's judgment: Israel is spoiled for her rebellion by Yahweh just as Egypt was previously spoiled by Israel (cf. Exod. 3:22; 12:36).[110] Israel will leave Mount Sinai stripped of the presence of Yahweh and her previous triumph over the Egyptians as God's people. "Those who arrived at the mountain in victory now leave in defeat and under the judgment of God."[111]

4) In typical rebellion stories the people usually repent in response to Yahweh's judgment. In Exodus 32, however, the people's repentance does not occur immediately. After Yahweh's announcement of the judgment, Moses intercedes for the people (32:11-13), and the people's repentance (Exod. 33:4-6) is recorded only after Moses' other prayer (32:31-32) and Yahweh's punishments (32:25-29, 35). On hearing of God's withdrawal of his presence from their midst, the people mourned and took off their ornaments (33:4-6).

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[109]M. Walzer, "Exodus 32 and the Theory of Holy War," *HTR* 61 (1968): 1-14, 2-3.
[110]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 61.
[111]S. J. Hafemann (1995), 208.

5) In the story of the golden calf Moses intercedes several times for the forgiveness of the people's sin. Of course, Moses intercessions on behalf of the people appear in the typical rebellion stories too.

Various Hebrew words are used to describe or introduce Moses' prayer: צעק (Exod. 15:25; 17:4; Num. 12:13); התפלל (Num. 11:2; 21:7b); אמר (Num. 11:11-15; 14:13-19; 16:22). In the story of the golden calf, the verb חלה is used to describe Moses' first prayer (Exod. 32:11a); thereafter the rest of Moses' prayers are introduced by אמר (Exod. 32:11-13, 31-32; 33:12-23; 34:9).

Moses' first intercession appears in Exodus 32:11-13. Against Yahweh's command to leave him alone so that he might destroy Israel in order to start over, Moses approaches God with a fervent prayer for the rescue of the people. Moses, however, does not "excuse or mitigate what the people have done" in his prayer.[112] He sought to stress Yahweh's faithfulness to his promise.

After the execution of judgment upon Israel through the Levites (32:25-29) Moses intercedes a second time for the people in Exodus 32:31-32. Moses' third intercession is presented in the form of a dialogue between Moses and Yahweh (Exod. 33:12-23).

6) Finally, the deliverance is achieved. In Exodus 34 Yahweh reveals his name and gives anew the tablets of the covenant as a sign of forgiveness. Then the covenant is renewed (Exod. 34). What is striking in the renewal of the covenant is that the re-establishment of the covenant is not consonant with the reality of Israel's "stiff-necked" behaviour. The covenant is renewed with Israel in spite of her obstinate condition (34:9).

Although it has its own special characteristics, it is clear that the golden calf narrative fits well into the genre of "rebellion story," as seen in Exodus-Numbers. Like the other rebellion stories, the golden calf narrative has its distinct role to play within an overall context of the "theological history" of Israel which Exodus-Numbers relates.

4.5.6. Relationship of Exodus to history

In the previous chapter we argued against Van Seters's view that the story of Jeroboam's golden calves is a fiction.[113] Before we move to discuss the genre of Deuteronomy it appears to be appropriate to deal with the issue of the relationship of Exodus to history.

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[112]R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 50.
[113]See above section 3.3.3 in chapter 3.

With regard to the historical narratives of Exodus, scholars have worked to explore the trustworthiness of their correspondence to known historical facts. Some scholars have argued that these texts report historical events with fictive elements reflecting later political and religious concerns.[114] So they assert, the narratives should be read as history-like fiction or fictionalized history.

Sternberg's *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative* (1985) is helpful in our discussion on the issue. It is important to Sternberg that biblical narrative is a work of literature. But he opposes biblical scholars who see a literary approach to the Bible as the conscious imposition of alien categories upon the Old Testament text. For Sternberg the authors of the biblical narratives have used narrative techniques to convey their message. Thus, biblical narrative should be understood as functional discourse.

> Like all social discourse, biblical narrative is oriented to an addressee and regulated by a purpose or a set of purposes involving the addressee. Hence our primary business as readers is to make purposive sense of it, so as to explain that *what*'s and the *how*'s in terms of the *why*'s of communication.[115]

Sternberg stresses the relationship between poetic and communicative intention. He criticises Robertson's view of the literary approach as the arbitrary imposition of imaginative categories upon the Bible *as incompetent*. For Robertson, the Bible itself does not demand us to take its imaginative aspect seriously; rather we make an arbitrary decision to impose imaginative categories upon the Bible because such an approach yields exciting results.[116] For Sternberg this is totally unacceptable; a hermeneutical approach is acceptable only in so far as it fits the type of text it is seeking to interpret.[117]

Sternberg also criticises K. G. Louis's characterisation of the narrative approach as *ahistorical*. Louis claims that a literary approach to the Bible means viewing the text as autonomous. He equates literariness with fictionality. However, if one takes biblical narrative as functional discourse as Sternberg indicates, seeing narrative technique as part of the text itself means taking the historical construction of the text seriously. Sternberg regards the discernment of "embodied" or objectified" intention as crucial.

> [S]uch intention fulfills a crucial role, for communication presupposes a speaker who resorts to certain linguistic and structural tools in order to produce certain effects on the addressee; the discourse accordingly supplies a network of clues to the speaker's intention.[118]

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[114]See, for e.g., J. Van Seters (1994).
[115]M. Sternberg (1985), 1.
[116]D. Robertson (1977), 4.
[117]M. Sternberg (1985), 4-6.
[118]M. Sternberg (1985), 9.

It is a common assumption of the literary approach that biblical narrative is best characterised as fiction. Truth value is generally considered to be a common criterion to distinguish between history and fiction. Sternberg examines the criteria for determining that the biblical narratives are fiction, and finds them all wanting. For Sternberg this is to confuse truth value with truth claim. Historical writings are those which claim to be presenting what happened. Whether they are successful or not in this regard is the concern of "truth value." Sternberg argues that poor history writing is not however to be confused with fiction.

Every narrative is composed with didactic purpose--it has point to make. Patrick and Scult note: "The past is not examined for itself, but rather for how it can affect the present. It might be said that all history is formulated to affect the present in a particular way."[119]

Narrative is the means whereby the Bible presents its message, and narrative technique and message are not to be set against each other. Then how does the aesthetic aspect relate to the ideological in biblical narrative?

The relation of these three principles is one of coordination and tense complementarity. Sternberg sums up the point at which the three merge with the description of exposure to these narratives as "the drama of reading": "They join forces to originate a strategy of telling that casts reading as a drama, interpretation as an ordeal that enacts and distinguishes the human predicament."[120]

The issue of whether biblical narratives should be read as history or realistic fiction must be explored together with the issues of the ultimate authority of the Old Testament and the truth claim of the narratives.

The term history is ambiguous and often creates confusion in the mind of the reader. Thus it is necessary to clarify what the term history can mean. History can refer either to the past events or to the study of the past, i.e., interpretative verbal accounts of the past (historiography).

According to Long, every history-writing is a representational art.[121] He argues that a distinction can and should be made between narratives that are essentially representational (historiographical) and those that are not. On what basis then are narratives to be classified? Narrative is a medium for both history and fiction. Form alone is not a sufficient criterion, because there are simply no universals of history vs.

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[119]D. Patrick and A. Scult, 1990: 54.
[120]M. Sternberg (1985), 46.
[121]V. P. Long (1994), 63-68.

fiction. "Nothing on the surface, that is, infallibly marks off the two genres. As mode of discourse, history and fiction make *functional* categories that may remain constant under the most assorted *formal* variations and are distinguishable only by their overall sense of purpose."[122]

These two modes of discourse are functional categories and can only be distinguished by the overall sense of purpose of the narrative. It is only from the overall sense of purpose that one can determine whether the authorial intention is to record what happened or to create a world of his/her own imagination. So context becomes one of the primary means of discovering this purpose.

> The difference between a narrative whose primary purpose is representational (or referential) and one whose primary purpose is aesthetic is the degree to which the artist is constrained by the actualities of the subject matter. ... If both the subject matter of the narrative itself and the nature of the surrounding context suggest a representational purpose, then we may assume that the writer has been in some measure constrained by the facts. I say "in some measure," because neither representational artists nor historians simply reproduce their subjects.[123]

Long argues that the fact that historical writing is constrained by the facts of the past does not disallow any creative enterprise from the historian in the writing of history. Historians do not simply reproduce the past.

Long draws some significant points by illustrating visual representational artists. The production of a representational painting, for example, involves a coordination of creativity and constraint. The artist makes various kinds of choices as follows:[124] 1) a subject must be chosen from among the multitude of possible subjects around; 2) a vantage point must be chosen from which to view the subject; 3) compositional decision must be made. Depending on the purpose of the painting, the artist may have some freedom to arrange or rearrange elements of his subject; 4) a paint medium, the style, and so forth must be decided.

The analogy between painting and historiography help us understand how the historical, theological and literary concerns might be coordinated in the biblical narratives just as the production of a painting is constrained by the subject matter, point of view, aesthetic choices.[125]

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[122]M. Sternberg (1985), 30.
[123]V. P. Long (1994), 68.
[124]V. P. Long (1994), 70.
[125]V. P. Long (1994), 71: "The *historiographical* impulse implies constraint by the subject, the *theological* implies point of view, and the *literary* implies aesthetic choices."

Long draws another implication from the analogy of visual artist. "The best way to achieve a realistic representation is to be very selective, limiting the depiction of details to a suggestive few so as to allow the mind of the viewers to fill in the rest."[126]

We may conclude that literary artistry and history should not be considered to be in conflict; the narratives of Exodus, more specifically the episode of the golden calf in Exodus 32-34 may be reliable historiography.

4.6. Genre of Deuteronomy

The genre or literary form of Deuteronomy has been discussed from a number of different aspects.

4.6.1. Treaty

Following the prior explorations of others, Meredith Kline argued that the relationship between Yahweh and Israel in Deuteronomy could be described in terms of the second millennium Hittite treaty relationship between a conquering king and his subject nation.[127] According to Kline, the structure of the book neatly matches that of the suzerain-vassal treaty documents, since, like Hittite treaties, Deuteronomy has a preamble (1:1-5), a historical prologue (1:6-4:49), stipulations (chs. 5-26), curses and blessings (chaps. 27-28), a ratification (chs. 29-30), and a dynastic disposition (chs. 31-34).[128]

This resemblance shows that the author of Deuteronomy has employed a contemporary political model for his understanding of Israel's relationship to Yahweh. However, in spite of these affinities with the ancient treaty documents, Deuteronomy differs from them in several respects.[129] Firstly it may be argued that Deuteronomy has to do with covenant renewal, and not with covenant initiation. Dumbrell argues that there is no precedent in the ancient treaty documents for a use of similar treaty form for covenant renewal.[130] We, however, may agree that a general treaty-like form current in the ancient

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[126]V. P. Long (1994), 72; 74: "Since the past is *past* and unrepeatable, it will never be possible to recover the "bare facts" pure and simple, at least not all of them; we are inevitably dependent on witness and evidences."

[127]M. G. Kline, *Treaty of the Great King* (1963). See G. Mendenhall, *Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (Pittsburgh: Biblical Colloquium, 1955). For a comprehensive survey of this topic, see D. J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant* (1978); K. Baltzer (1971); M. Weinfeld (1972); N. Lohfink, "Deuteronomy," in *IDBSup* (1976), 229-32.

[128]M. G. Kline (1963), 7-8, 28.

[129]The term "covenant" [בְּרִית] occurs 27 times in Deuteronomy. Nowhere, however, does Deuteronomy use the term "covenant" to refer to itself as a whole book.

[130]W. Dumbrell, *Covenant and Creation* (1984), 116.

Near East could have been adapted to the book of Deuteronomy.[131] Secondly, in contrast to the ancient treaty documents, where the suzerain addresses the subject nation, Moses instead of Yahweh addresses the people of Israel.[132]

Many scholars regard Deuteronomy as a fusion of treaty forms and ancient Near Eastern law codes, rather than an ancient treaty document on its own.[133] In my judgement, Deuteronomy may more usefully be regarded as a series of discourses given by Moses, which have been combined using a structure which has some affinity with the structure of an ancient treaty.

4.6.2. Exposition of the Decalogue

The book of Deuteronomy, especially chapters 12-26, is often understood as an exposition of the Decalogue. In Lohfink's view the Decalogue in Deuteronomy 5 is the key element of the book, and he has argued that Deuteronomy 6-11 is an eloquent sermonic expansion of, and commentary on, the first two commandments of the Decalogue.[134] Similarly, Kaufman, followed by Braulik and Walton, have argued that the legal section in Deuteronomy 12-26 is structured to elucidate the underlying moral principles set forth in the Decalogue.[135]

Olson also highlights the significant role of the Decalogue in Deuteronomy. According to Olson, "the structure of Deuteronomy 5 functions as a miniature version of the structure of the whole book."[136] He argues that "the rest of Deuteronomy is a secondary interpretation of the Decalogue."[137] He recognises Deuteronomy 5 as a key chapter which provides the overall structure of the book of Deuteronomy,[138] and shares Lohfink's and Kaufman's views of Deuteronomy 6-11 and 12-26 as an exposition of the Decalogue.

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[131]Thompson, quoting G. J. Wenham (1970), argued for Deuteronomy's distinctive use of Old Testament covenant form. See J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy* (1974), 18.

[132]W. W. Klein, C. L. Blomberg and R. L. Hubbard, Jr. (1993), 284.

[133]G. J. Wenham, *The Structure and Date of Deuteronomy* (Unpublished Ph.D. diss. London, 1970). R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III (1994), 98. Cf. also E. W. Nicholson, *Deuteronomy and Tradition* (1967).

[134]N. Lohfink (1963); see also P. D. Miller (1990), 65-128.

[135]S. A. Kaufman (1978-79), 105-58; G. Braulik (1985), 252-72; idem, (1988), 63-92. Braulik has modified some of Kaufman's divisions and arrangements of Deuteronomy 12-26. See also J. H. Walton (1987), 213-25.

[136]D. T. Olson (1994), 15. Olson's structure of Deuteronomy is as follows: the lessons from the story of the past (Deut. 1-4); the commandments, statutes, and ordinances for the present (Deut. 6-28); the covenant for the future (Deut. 29-32); and the future blessing (Deut. 33-34).

[137]D. T. Olson (1994), 12.

[138]D. T. Olson (1994), 63: "Chapters 6-11 are an interpretation and expansion of the first and most important of the commandments, 'you shall have no other gods.' Chapters 12-28 function in a similar way as interpretations and extensions of the Ten Commandments."

Though some may doubt whether such a structure was originally intended by the author,[139] this approach certainly reveals the hortatory nature of the book. The laws in Deuteronomy are less technical than the other pentateuchal law codes, and the expositional nature of Deuteronomy does not demand obedience and specific behaviour from the people quite so forcefully as elsewhere in the Pentateuch. Rather Deuteronomy wants to achieve fulfillment of the requirements of the law through persuasion, and by providing reasons why the laws should be followed.[140]

4.6.3. Music

The closing chapters of Deuteronomy are clearly poetry, and Christensen argues that not only the song of Moses and the blessing of Moses (Deut. 32-33) but the whole book of Deuteronomy was composed as a didactic poem in order to be read/sung in a cultic setting.[141] Christensen, however, seems to have gone too far. Although Kugel has argued that the distinction between Hebrew prose and poetry is less rigid than usually believed,[142] it seems obvious to us that the styles of the poetic and non-poetic chapters in Deuteronomy are easily distinguishable. If they were all meant to be sung, this difference would surely not be apparent, and this must make Christensen's view idiosyncratic and improbable.

4.6.4. Farewell speech

Deuteronomy has long been understood as an expansion of the typical Old Testament farewell address. Typically, the farewell speeches tend to mark significant turning points in Israel's national life and the speaker admonishes the hearers to live along certain lines in the future. Notable examples are Jacob's speech in Genesis 49, Joshua's speech in Joshua 23-24, Samuel's speech in 1 Samuel 12, and David's speech in 1 Kings 2:1-9.

Excluding the brief narrative opening (Deut. 1:1-5) and lengthy conclusion (Deut. 33-34), Deuteronomy consists of a series of three addresses by Moses to the Israelites while they were camped on the plains of Moab. Specification of the location and setting for each address provides a clue to the division of the three main addresses: chapters 1-4

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[139]R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III (1994), 100: "It shows how all parts of the law are to varying degrees mutually implicit and interpenetrating in any of the commandments. Yet it is not clear that this structure was actually intended by the author-compiler of the book. ... The book does not provide explicit signals that this was the author's intention, and it would naturally be the case that individual laws would be particular legal enactments of the more general commandments."

[140]See J. G. McConville, *Law and Theology in Deuteronomy* (1984), 10-20.

[141]D. L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (1991), lv-lxii. D. L. Christensen (1991), lix, argues that "music and poetry are a common medium for transmitting cultural tradition among virtually all so-called preliterate people."

[142]James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

"in the east of the Jordan in the territory of Moab" (1:1-5), chapters 5-28 "in the valley near Beth Peor east of the Jordan" (4:44-49),[143] and chapters 29-32 in "Moab" (28:69 [Eng. 29:1]).

Moses' first address surveys Yahweh's past activity on Israel's behalf during her wandering and her journey to the border of the land (chs. 1-3), and then concludes with a hortatory section in which Moses appeals for Israel's obedience (ch. 4). The second address (chs. 5-28) concerns Israel's future life under the law in the promised land. The third address (chs. 29-32) appeals to Israel to accept the covenant. These addresses are then supplemented with a final blessing of Moses and an account of Moses' death (chs. 33-34).[144] Though Deuteronomy offers an extensive restatement of the law (Deut. 12-26) in Moses' second address, the context implies that this should be understood as a series of exhortations rather than as a mere collection of abstract or technical legal instructions.[145]

A series of Moses' farewell speeches, using some of the literary patterns of political treaties in the ancient Near East, seems to be most appropriate description of the genre of Deuteronomy.[146]

We shall now examine other examples of farewell speeches in the Old Testament in order to identify their typical characteristics. We shall also consider how farewell speeches handle narratives already told beforehand.

4.6.4.1. What constitutes a farewell speech?

Usually, when an eminent leader of Israel, or a family or tribal head is about to die or is conscious of his impending death, he summons the people or his nearest relatives and delivers his final words and bequeaths his last possessions to heirs and successors.[147]

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[143]It is possible to view Deut. 4:44-49 as the conclusion of the first address rather than the introduction to the second. See R. B. Dillard and T. Longman III (1994), 99.

[144]Cf. John H. Sailhamer, *Introduction to Old Testament Theology: A Canonical Approach* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1995), 239-52. Sailhamer distinguishes the canonical Pentateuch from the original Pentateuch. He argues that "Deut. 33:1-34:12 has been added secondarily to the original Pentateuch to form the canonical Pentateuch" (p. 239).

[145]G. von Rad, *Studies in Deuteronomy* (1953); idem, *Deuteronomy* (1966). Fretheim also describes Deuteronomy as preached law. See T. E. Fretheim, *Deuteronomic History* (1983), 18; W. W. Klein, C. L. Blomberg, and R. L. Hubbard, Jr. (1993), 283: "Scholars commonly describe the rhetoric of these speeches as *parenesis*--a style of speech that intends to persuade the audience to adopt a certain course of action." D. T. Olson (1994), 3; 6-14, calls the genre of Deuteronomy "torah" which he translates as "a program of catechesis." "In its present form Deuteronomy is intended to function as a foundational and ongoing teaching document necessitated by the reality of human death and the need to pass the faith on to another generation" (p. 6).

[146]S. Dean McBride, Jr. (1987), 229-44, understood that Deuteronomy was a document which administered the covenant life of the people of God and proposed the genre of Deuteronomy as the national "polity" or "constitution" of the people of Israel. Though Deuteronomy certainly influenced the subsequent political and religious polices in the history of ancient Israel, it is doubtful that Deuteronomy functioned as a national constitution.

[147]B. O. Long, *1 Kings* (1984), 44. In the Old Testament a farewell speech given by a father or an eminent leader of Israel, shortly before his death, appears to have been a normal occurrence. O. Eissfeldt

Usually the leader (of the family or of Israel) refers to his advanced age or impending death and calls for the preservation of the religious inheritance of the fathers, often by means of a long historical retrospect.[148]

The speech is always an address in the first person, and has the character of a testament. It can play an important role at key junctures of the Old Testament history. The series of Moses' farewell speeches, i.e., Deuteronomy as a whole, is given after the forty years of wilderness wandering, just before the conquest of the promised land. The farewell speech of Joshua (Josh. 23-24) is also given at a critical moment, between the time of the completion of the conquest and the beginning of Israel's life in the land. The farewell speech of Samuel (1 Sam. 12:1-25) is given at the end of the age of the judges and before the beginning of life under the kings.

4.6.4.2. Structures of a typical farewell speech

Farewell speeches usually follow the following sequence:

1) introduction: the speaker summons his hearers and refers to his advanced age or physical condition
2) historical review: the speaker reviews the past history in retrospective
3) admonition: the speaker gives warning and/or exhortation in relation to the future
4) result or the people's response
5) death report.

The following table shows each element of the farewell speeches given by Joshua, Samuel, and David.

	Joshua		Samuel	David
	(Josh. 23)	(Josh. 24)	(1 Sam. 12)	(1 Kgs. 2)
introduction	23:1-2a	24:1	12:1-5	2:1-2a
historical review	23:3-4	24:2-13	12:6-13	
admonition	23:5-16	24:14-15	12:14-17	2:2b-9
result		24:16-28	12:18-25	
death report		24:29-30	(25:1)	2:10

(1965: 13) thinks that farewell speeches in the Old Testament "are not to be regarded as completely divorced from reality, nor as mere literary constructions," though he believes that the present wording of the farewell speeches was mainly produced by the hands of the redactor(s). See also B. O. Long, *1 Kings* (1984), 43: "In the OT, reports of farewell speeches are generally part of a larger editorial composition which reports the final acts and death of an important person."

[148]W. W. Klein, C. L. Blomberg and R. L. Hubbard, Jr. (1993), 270.

4.6.4.3. Joshua's farewell speeches

Joshua 23 and 24 seem to contain Joshua's two farewell speeches on different occasions. While Joshua 23 is Joshua's speech to the people in monologue, Joshua 24 consists of the directly reported speech of Yahweh (Josh. 24:2-13) in the first person through the mouth of Joshua and vivid dialogues (24:14-27) between Joshua and the people.[149]

1) Joshua 23

a) 23:1-2a: Setting

Having conquered the land, Joshua addresses a farewell speech to the people at the end of his life.[150] Joshua summons representatives of the whole Israel. The note on the peace brought by Yahweh and Joshua's old age (Josh. 23:1) clearly indicates the end phase of Joshua's life. The impending death of Joshua is explicitly anticipated in his speech.[151]

b) 23:2b-16: Content

A quotation formula וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם (23:2b) introduces Joshua's covenant-speech (23:2c-16). Joshua briefly reviews Yahweh's previous great deeds (23:3-4) and announces Yahweh's blessing for the future (23:5). On the basis of the past history and the promise for the future Joshua gives an exhortation to the people (23:6-16).[152]

2) Joshua 24

Joshua 24 deals with the covenant made at Shechem.[153] The structure of Joshua 24 is similar to that of Joshua 23 as is shown below, though Joshua 23 and 24 put their emphases differently:[154]

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[149]Joshua 24 is usually considered as the oldest farewell speech in the Old Testament. See O. Eissfeldt (1965), 13. On the other hand, some consider Joshua 23 as a later addition of the deuteronomic school. See M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy and Deuteronomic School* (1972), 10-11. However, if we examine closely the structure of Josh. 23-24, we can find that the monologue in Joshua 23 and the dialogue in Joshua 24 are aptly interwoven and indispensable to the covenant ceremony made at Shechem at the end of Joshua's life. For the argument for the defence of the unity of Josh. 23-24, see N. Winther-Nielsen (1995), 314. Josh. 23-24 consists of Joshua's covenant-address (Josh. 23), a covenant-dialogue between Joshua and the people (24:1-24), and a conclusion of the covenant-making (24:25-28). N. Winther-Nielsen (1995), 241-42, 324.

[150]The discourse marker וַיְהִי in Josh. 23:1 indicates the beginning of a new section.

[151]Joshua refers to his impending death (Josh. 23:14): וְהִנֵּה אָנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ הַיּוֹם בְּדֶרֶךְ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ "look, I am today walking the way of all the earth" (23:14a). See also Josh. 23:2.

[152]Joshua's exhortations are clearly marked by a second person plural *weqatal* verb: וְחִזַּקְתֶּם מְאֹד לִשְׁמֹר וְלַעֲשׂוֹת "you must be very strong to obey and do" (23:6a); וְנִשְׁמַרְתֶּם מְאֹד לְנַפְשֹׁתֵיכֶם לְאַהֲבָה אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם "you must be very careful to love Yahweh your God"(23:11). See N. Winther-Nielsen (1995), 309-10 for the textual analysis.

[153]N. Winther-Nielsen (1995), 263: Josh. 23-24 is a "highly didactic covenant discourse."

[154]T. C. Butler (1983), 265.

-the same audience (Josh. 23:2a; 24:1b)
-a survey of history (23:3-5; 24:2-13)
-exhortation (23:6-13; 24:14-15)
-consequences of disobedience (23:13, 15-16; 24:19-20)
-call for total allegiance to Yahweh (23:7, 12, 16; 24:2, 14-24, 27).

After a brief mention of the summoned party,[155] Joshua reviews the past history directly quoting Yahweh in the first person: Joshua reviews the past history from the time before Abraham to the exodus, to the wilderness, and to the conquest (Josh. 24:2-13; cf. 23:3-5). Joshua gives an admonition and urges the people to choose between Yahweh and other gods (24:14-15; cf. 23:6-13). Yahweh's power is highlighted throughout the historical review.[156] Then the people declare their loyalty to Yahweh. In the hortatory section Joshua urges the people to fear and serve Yahweh with all faithfulness. Through several rounds of exchanges of live dialogue between Joshua and the people,[157] they are getting ready for a solemn covenant (24:16-24). After the covenant ceremony (24:25-27), the story is concluded by reporting the dispersion of the people (24:28) and the death of Joshua (24:29-30).

4.6.4.4. Samuel's farewell speech in 1 Samuel 12

1 Samuel 12 begins with a vivid dialogue between Samuel and the people (12:1-5), then follows Samuel's *résumé* of the history of Israel (12:6-15), and another dialogue between Samuel and the people concludes the chapter (12:16-25). A narrator's comment (12:18) appears between Samuel's farewell speech and the closing dialogue.

Samuel mentions his advanced years (12:2) and protests his probity in public affairs with the people (12:3-5). Samuel's purpose is to show the people once and for all how foolish they have been.[158]

The range of the historical review in Samuel's speech is shorter than in Joshua's: from the sojourn in Egypt to the exodus, then directly to the sojourn in Canaan, and finally to the apostasy and deliverance during the period of judges. The review (12:6-13) is devoted to Yahweh's mighty deliverance followed by the people's faithlessness focusing mainly on the period of judges (12:9-12). Samuel warns the people by presenting the way of blessing and the way of curse before the people (12:14-15). After

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[155]Joshua assembles "all the tribes of Israel" in Josh. 24:1 instead of "all Israel" in Josh. 23:2. The summoned party, i.e., the object of וַיִּקְרָא in Josh. 24:1, is identical with the object of וַיִּקְרָא in Joshua 23:2.

[156]Cf. Josh. 23:3-4 where Joshua emphasises Yahweh as the one who fought for Israel in the past.

[157]The people pledge their loyalty four times in response to Joshua's speech; see Josh. 24:16, 21, 22b, 24.

[158]See Samuel's argument in 1 Sam. 12:3; 8:10-18. Cf. P. K. McCarter, *1 Samuel* (1980), 213.

the narrator's comment (12:18) and the people's response (12:19) Samuel gives a further admonition. Samuel's speeches look both forward and back.[159] Samuel highlights that Yahweh's deliverances in the past were sufficient guarantee for future safety without the experience of monarchy.

4.6.4.5. Moses' farewell speech in Deuteronomy

Deuteronomy reports Moses' farewell speeches on a larger scale than in any other farewell speeches in the Old Testament. In fact, as we have seen, almost the whole book of Deuteronomy consists of Moses' speeches.[160] Moses speaks on his own in every speech, except for two instances: Moses and the elders speak together in Deuteronomy 27:1-8; and Moses and the Levitical priests speak in 27:9-10.[161]

1) Introduction (Deut. 1:1-5)

At the very beginning Deuteronomy makes clear that the speech of Moses was addressed to "all Israel": אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל (1:1). Though there appears no explicit note of Moses advanced age or his physical condition, the reference to the "first day of the eleventh month of the fortieth year" (1:3) sufficiently conveys a sense of the imminent death of Moses. Moreover the specific note on the speech in the introductory section, "Moses spoke *to the Israelites* according to *all that Yahweh had commanded*," (1:3b) implicitly expresses that this speech is Moses' farewell speech: מֹשֶׁה אֶל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֹתוֹ אֲלֵהֶם.

2) Historical review (Deut. 1:6-3:29)

As we have seen above, the first part of Moses's address surveys Israel's past history during her wandering and her journey to the border of the land (chs. 1-3): the appointment of divisional leaders and the charging of judges (1:6-18); the sending of spies and rebellion against God (1:19-46); Israel's journeys and encounters with the nations (2:1-3:11); and the possession of the Trans-Jordan (3:12-29).

3) Admonition (Deut. 4-28)

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[159]R. P. Gordon (1986), 34.

[160]In Deuteronomy the narrator's comments occur only in fifty-six verses. Besides the predominant speech of Moses, Yahweh's speech is also quoted five times by the narrator (Deut. 31:14b; 31:16b-21; 31:23b; 32:49-52; 34:4b).

[161]R. Polzin, "Reporting Speech" (1981), 200.

The call for Israel's obedience to Yahweh concludes the first address of Moses (ch. 4). Then the admonition continues in Moses' second address (chs. 5-28). Here Moses gives an exhortation concerning Israel's future life under the law in the promised land. The extensive restatement of the law in Deuteronomy 12-26 should be understood as a series of exhortations rather than as a mere collection of abstract or technical legal instructions.

4) Result (Deut. 29-32)

The third address (chs. 29-32) appeals to Israel to accept the covenant. Joshua is appointed as a successor to Moses (31:1-8, 14-23).

5) Death report (Deut. 34)

The note on the imminent death of Moses appears many times through Moses' speeches (3:23-29; 31:2, 14; 33:1). The final blessing of Moses (ch. 33) and his death report (ch. 34) conclude the farewell speeches of Moses, the great leader.

In conclusion, though proposals of the genre of Deuteronomy as a treaty document or as an exposition of the Decalogue highlight important aspects of the book of Deuteronomy, the genre of Deuteronomy as a whole can be better understood when we read it as a speech of a great leader of the nation in a critical historical situation, rather than when it is read as an abstract, technical legal instruction. It is a series of warm, passionate farewell speeches delivered by Moses who was deeply concerned about the potential corrupting influence of Canaanite religion.

4.7. Genre of Deuteronomy 9-10*

Many scholars regard Exodus 32-34* and Deuteronomy 9-10* as belonging to the same genre and do not pay much attention to the differences of genre when they seek to explain the differences between the two versions of the golden calf incident. Consequently the differences are usually explained in terms of different sources and redactions without considering the difference of genre.[162] However, it would be erroneous to put Deuteronomy 9-10 in the same category as Exodus 32-34. The recognition of the difference of their genre is not only crucial for correct understanding of each version but also indispensable for identifying the differences between the two versions, since, as we have discussed above, the choice of genre not only controls the

[162]See, for e.g., S. R. Driver (1902), 111-24.

author's choice of vocabulary and style in his literary work but also influences the selection and arrangement of materials.

We have argued above that the genre of Deuteronomy as a whole can be best described as a series of sermon-like discourses by Moses, which are addressed to the people on the verge of the promised land. On the whole the genre of Deuteronomy 9-10 does not break out of this genre: it is clearly part of a discourse--Moses' second speech (Deut. 5-28). The signs of this are immediately evident in Deuteronomy 9, which begins with a second person imperative followed by a vocative, שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל.

However, the hortatory tone of the speech only lasts as far as Deuteronomy 9:8, and thereafter the tone of Moses' speech changes as Moses begins a historical review (Deut. 9:9-10:11). As Coats points out:

> This unit [Deuteronomy 9:7-10:11] constitutes an interlude in a series of sermonic material running from Deut. 6:10 through 9:6. Its form, a first person singular recitation of events from Israel's past, has more in common with Deut. 1-3 than with the paraenetic series. ... The introduction to the unit (vs. 7) is formally an admonition addressed directly to Israel through a second person singular imperative and establishes a link between the recitation and admonitions in the preceding series.[163]

In fact, if we set Deuteronomy 9:9-10:11 apart from its surrounding contexts and compare it with other historical narratives, we find no significant differences between them from the viewpoint of discourse type, except that the Deuteronomy account is recounted in the first person.[164] In brief, the first part is hortatory discourse, whereas the second is much closer to narrative discourse and, in terms of the length of the discourse, the second part dominates the whole speech of Deuteronomy 9-10*.

However, if we consider the fact that the second part of Deuteronomy 9-10 is embedded within a sermon, the genre of Deuteronomy 9:9-10:11 can be best described as a *sermon illustration taken from the past history*. In other words, the golden calf episode in Deuteronomy 9-10 is not a plain or conventional historical narrative, but fulfills a distinct sermonic purpose.

4.7.1. The context within Deuteronomy

It is well-known that Deuteronomy 6-11 functions as an interpretation of the first commandment, "you shall have no other gods before me."[165] After the proclamation of

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[163]G. W. Coats (1968), 196.

[164]The hortatory speech resumes only in Deuteronomy 10:12, which is beyond the limit of our discussion.

[165]N. Lohfink (1963).

the so-called Shema as a positive restatement of the first commandment (Deut. 6), Deuteronomy 7-10 reflects upon some of the other gods who will threaten Israel's allegiance to Yahweh. The structure of Moses's discourse from chapter 7 onwards may be summarised as follows:

1) Deuteronomy 7 warns against the dangers of military success:

a) This is not because Israel is more numerous than other nations but because Yahweh keeps his oath he swore to their forefathers (7:7-8)
b) Yahweh will drive out the nations (Yahweh exerts absolute and sovereign control over the world) (7:17ff)
c) Warning: do not follow/imitate the ways of the nations (7:25-26)

2) Deuteronomy 8 warns against economic affluence:

a) Remember your hardship in the past, and humble yourselves (8:2-5)
b) Do not forget Yahweh when you are affluent in the future (8:10-18)
c) Do not say "My power and strength of my hands have produced this wealth for me." But remember Yahweh your God, for it is he who give you the ability to produce wealth. (8:17-18)
d) Warning: if you forget Yahweh and follow other gods you will surely be destroyed (8:19-20)

3) Deuteronomy 9-10 warns against self-righteousness:

a) Not because of your righteousness, for you are a stiff-necked people but only because of the mercy and grace of Yahweh (9:4, 5, 6 and 9:19, 20, 21, 25-29; 10:1-11)
b) Warning: "Circumcise your hearts, therefore, and do not be stiff-necked any longer." (10:16)

4.7.2. The structure of Deuteronomy 9-10*

The detailed structure of this third section, Deuteronomy 9-10, can be summarised as follows:

1) Sermon exhortation (9:1-6)

a) Imminence of conquest of the land (9:1-3). Yahweh will drive out the nations as he has promised.
b) Not because of your righteousness but because of Yahweh's faithfulness (9:4-6).

2) Sermon illustrations (9:7-10:11)

a) Introduction (9:7-8)
b) Illustrations of the sinfulness of the people (9:9-24)
c) Illustrations of the grace of Yahweh (9:25-10:11)

The conquest of the land is anticipated as certain and imminent in Deuteronomy 9:1-3. As warfare was commonly understood in the ancient world as an arbiter of international justice,[166] in order to prevent the people misunderstanding the victory over the nations, Moses reminds the people that the conquest of the land is due only to the grace and gift of Yahweh not to their own merit (9:4-6). Moses emphasises that Yahweh is giving them the land in spite of their stubbornness (9:6). On moral grounds, there is no fundamental difference between Israel and the nations. Strictly speaking, the conquest of the land is by no means a reward of their righteousness. The land was given to Israel only by the grace of Yahweh.

In the remainder of his sermon (9:7-10:11) Moses recounts the golden calf incident, and the purpose of this is to illustrate the stubbornness of the people, on the one hand, and demonstrate the grace of Yahweh, on the other hand. The retelling of the golden calf incident in Deuteronomy is designed to eradicate any idea of the people's moral self-righteousness that they might possess after the conquest of the land in the future.[167] The people deserve Yahweh's anger and wrath (9:8). Yahweh's anger and his intention to destroy [הַשְׁמִיד] the people are strongly stressed in Deuteronomy 9-10*.[168] The same word הַשְׁמִיד is used in 9:3 to describe Yahweh's destruction of the nations in Canaan (see also 7:23-24). Israel was faced with the same fate which Yahweh announced to the nations because of their sin with the golden calf, but they are spared, solely by the grace of Yahweh. Moses wants the people to recognise Yahweh's grace, and consequently urges them to obey Yahweh.

In Deuteronomy 9:7-8, which serves as an introduction to the episode of the golden calf, Moses reminds the people of their past rebellions: "from the day you came out of the land of Egypt until you came to this place you have been rebellious against Yahweh" (9:7b). The choice of the golden calf episode at Horeb as an example is particularly significant: Horeb was the place where the covenant had been initiated, and no sooner had the covenant with Yahweh been ratified than the people violated its most fundamental requirements. But the issue is not disobedience to any one part of the law or law codes but a "matter of unfaithfulness to the God who had bound himself to a people. Israel has violated the established relationship"[169] (see Exod. 20:3-4). So it is clear that the covenant cannot be based on, and cannot be sustained by their own righteousness but only by the mercy and grace of Yahweh.[170]

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[166]N. Lohfink (1963), 202-204; C. J. H. Wright (1996), 133.
[167]D. T. Olson (1994), 52-58; C. J. H. Wright (1996), 130.
[168]See also 9:14, 18-20, 22, 25, 26.
[169]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 281.
[170]C. J. H. Wright (1996), 135.

4.8. Transformation of previous material by Deuteronomy

Whatever its previous functions, Deuteronomy in its present form functions as Moses' last words before his death to a new generation standing on the edge of the promised land (See Deut. 1:1-5; 4:14; etc.). The purpose of Deuteronomy is to provide a paradigm or model for the life of faith in every new generation of God's people. From the creation story in Genesis 1 onwards, the narrative of the Pentateuch has told the story of the world and of the people of God, but in Deuteronomy the narrative pauses to teach what this foundational story means for every new generation.[171]

The past is recalled in order to shape the present life of the community and in order to thrust the community always towards the future, both a future near at hand and a future more distant. The community of faith is rooted in the past, active in the present, but always open to and yearning for God's new future.[172]

Deuteronomy 1-3 contains many examples of past history used as sermon illustrations.[173] To explore how Deuteronomy transforms previous Pentateuchal material into a sermon illustration, we will take as an example the spies incident (Deut. 1:19-46; Num. 13-14), i.e., another failure of Israel, and examine whether there appear any recurring tendencies in sermon illustrations which will be relevant when we come to consider the case of the golden calf incident.

4.8.1. The spies incident as a sermon illustration

The account of the spies incident appears at the opening chapter of Deuteronomy, and it may be argued that Deuteronomy picks up the narrative where Numbers leaves off. Moses and Israel, having gone through the wilderness, arrive at the plains of Moab. The first three chapters tell how Israel came to its present place, on the border between wandering in the wilderness and settlement in the promised land.

The precise information about time and place serves to connect Deuteronomy with the narrative of the journey through the wilderness in Numbers. Here is an indication that Deuteronomy does not stand alone; it is meant to be read within the context of the preceding books.

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[171]D. T. Olson (1994), 11.

[172]D. T. Olson (1994), 16.

[173]E.g., the appointment of the leaders (Deut. 1:9-18; cf. Exod. 18:13-27; Num. 11:10-17, 24-30), the spies incident (Deut. 1:19-46; cf. Num. 13-14), Israel's encounter with Edom (Deut. 2:1-8), Moab (2:9-18), Ammon (2:19-23), Sihon (2:24-37), and Og (3:1-11). Cf. Num. 20-21 for Israel's encounter with various nations.

Deuteronomy 1-3 is usually understood as the introduction to the Deuteronomistic history. Millar, however, argues that the function of Deuteronomy 1-3 is to "bring Israel to the place of decision on the edge of the land."[174] The episode of the spies, like the episode of the golden calf, shows the people's failure to trust in Yahweh in a decisive moment, in this case, on the verge of their entry into the promised land. After the spies incident the people were forced back into the wilderness, and the purpose of the retelling of the spies incident in Deuteronomy 1:19-46 is made clear in the prologue of the book. The journey from Horeb to Kadesh Barnea which normally takes only eleven days (Deut. 1:2) took more than thirty-eight years, simply because of the people's lack of trust in Yahweh (Deut. 1:3; cf. Num. 10:11). Forty years after the spies incident the people, not now the exodus generation but a new generation, have arrived at the same spot for a second chance, and Moses retells the spies incident so that the people will not repeat the past failure. The message of Moses' sermon here is that, "It's the second chance. Don't lose it."

The story is recounted in Numbers 13-14 and Deuteronomy 1:19-45. While the spies narrative in Deuteronomy appears to be heavily dependent on Numbers 13-14, there are also significant differences between them.

4.8.1.1. Abbreviation

Firstly, Deuteronomy tends to describe less fully the earlier historical account. The account of the spies incident in Deuteronomy contains only 27 verses in Deuteronomy, compared with 78 verses in Numbers. Deuteronomy does not record a long list of the spies (Num. 13:1-16), and the selection and sending of the spies are compressed into two verses (Deut. 1:22-23).[175]

A close examination of the texts shows that Deuteronomy not only knows Numbers 13-14 but also expects that his reader is familiar with the story in Numbers. Deuteronomy 1:28 describes the people's response to the report of the spies without presenting its content. Mayes correctly points out that the negative reaction of the people (Deut. 1:28) cannot be understood from the context of Deuteronomy 1 which recounts only the positive report of the spies.[176] Barker notes that "Deuteronomy sharpens the

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[174]J. G. Millar (1994), 17. P. Barker (1997) also argues that Deuteronomy 1-3 is the introduction to the rest of Deuteronomy rather than the Deuteronomistic history.

[175]It is usually believed that the account of the spies incident in Numbers 13-14 is composed of J and P sources and that Deuteronomy is dependent on J sections but independent of P sections in Numbers. Some other scholars, however, strongly argue that Deuteronomy is dependent not only on J but also on P. Wenham, for example, convincingly argues that Deuteronomy knew P in Numbers. See G. J. Wenham (1981), 126; see also A. D. H. Mayes (1979), 127, 129-30, 132; M. Weinfeld (1991), 143. P. A. Barker (1995), 18. For the apparent dependence of Deuteronomy on P, see Deut. 1:23 with Num. 13:2; Deut. 1:36, 38 with Num. 14:6, 30, 38; Deut. 1:39 with Num. 14:3, 31.

[176]A. D. H. Mayes (1979), 129-30.

people's culpability" by omitting the negative part of the spies' report in Deuteronomy 1:25.[177] Only against a background of Numbers 13-14 can the people's reaction be correctly understood without conflict with Deuteronomy 1:25.

Deuteronomy's assumption that its reader is familiar with the story in Numbers is also visible in other places. For example, the exception of Caleb from the sentence of exclusion from the land is announced without giving any reason for doing so (Deut. 1:36).

4.8.1.2. Changes and additions

Secondly, although Deuteronomy tends to compress the earlier narratives, there are also Deuteronomy's distinctive changes and additions. Deuteronomy 1 contains a number of materials that do not appear in Numbers 13-14, which can be explained by the sermonic nature of Deuteronomy.

The most striking difference is that Yahweh commands Moses to send the spies in Numbers 13:1, whereas in Deuteronomy 1:22 the people initiate the action. Some argue that this is because Deuteronomy represents a tradition which is different from that in Numbers. Others argue that the author of Deuteronomy purposely changed the original tradition, and Weinfeld, for example, claims that the author of Deuteronomy changed the original tradition in order that "the sinful act of the spies could not have been sponsored by God."[178]

Deuteronomy emphasises the role and responsibility of the people in the spies incident. The people's initiative to send spies (1:22) demonstrates a lack of trust in Yahweh, since their proposal follows immediately after the reconfirmation of Yahweh's promise of the gift of the land and Moses' exhortation to "do not be afraid" (1:21). The fact that the people, not the spies, are responsible for the disastrous result that ensued from sending out the spies is expressed in the selection and arrangement of the material in Deuteronomy. In fact the spies brought back a reassuring report: "It is a good land that Yahweh our God is giving us" (Deut. 1:25). In fact, the people's negative response is mentioned after the spies' favourable report (1:26ff), and in this way Moses was making it difficult for the people to avoid responsibility for their rebellious act.[179] Moses comments that the people "were unwilling to go up" and the sequence of verbs in Deuteronomy 1:26-46 serves as a warning to the following generations: "you were

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[177]P. A. Barker (1995), 22, n. 77.
[178]M. Weinfeld (1991), 144.
[179]R. Brown (1993), 40: The account of the spies incident in Deuteronomy 1 is "a story of stark rebellion (v. 26), ungrateful murmuring, total misunderstanding (v. 27), needless fear, widespread panic (v. 28) and blatant unbelief (v. 32)."

unwilling ... you rebelled ... you grumbled ... you were afraid ... you saw but ... you did not trust ... you thought it easy ... you would not listen ... you rebelled ... you came back ... you wept ... you stayed."[180] The pessimistic people kept their eyes on the Amorites' physical superiority ("stronger and taller than we are"), architectural advantages ("the cities are large"), and military prowess (and walls up to the sky).[181]

The different descriptions of the spies' mission in Numbers and Deuteronomy also can be understood in the light of their different genre. According to Numbers 13:18-20, the spies' mission was twofold. Firstly, they were to investigate the nature of the land and its quality, "whether the land they live in is good or bad," (13:19) and "whether the land is rich or poor" (1:20); secondly, to collect the information of a military nature, "whether the people who dwell in it are strong or weak" (13:18) and "whether the towns that they live in are open or fortified" (13:19).

In contrast, Deuteronomy's description of the spies' mission seems to be only military.

> The author of Deuteronomy could not ascribe to Moses a mission whose underlying aim was verifying the promise made by the Lord. The promised land *is* a good one (1:35; 3:25; etc.), it is a land flowing with milk and honey (6:3; 11:9; etc.), and there can be no doubt about it. The aim of the mission could only be strategic and military.[182]

In Numbers the purpose of sending the spies is to investigate the nature of the land: "whether the land they live in is good or bad" (Num. 13:19) and "whether the land is rich or poor" (Num. 1:20). But in Deuteronomy the mission is simply "to explore the land for us" (Deut. 1:22). The need in Numbers is to discover "whether the people who dwell in it are strong or weak" (Num. 13:18). "Whether the towns that they live in are open or fortified" (Num. 13:19) becomes in Deuteronomy an instruction merely "to bring back a report to us regarding the route by which we should go up and the cities we will come to" (Deut. 1:22). In Deuteronomy only the encouraging report of the spies is mentioned (1:25), and the negative report of the spies is only stated through the mouth of the people (1:28).

There are other differences between the accounts in Numbers and Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy Moses pleads not to rebel against Yahweh (Deut. 1:29-33) and appeals to the people to put their trust in Yahweh, reminding them of their past experience, what Yahweh did for them when they came out of Egypt and during the wilderness journey. In Numbers, on the other hand, Joshua and Caleb together try to calm down the people

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[180]C. J. H. Wright (1996), 32.
[181]R. Brown (1993), 40-41.
[182]M. Weinfeld (1991), 145.

(Num. 14:6-9),[183] Their speech has no similarity to Moses' speech in Deuteronomy 1:29-33 except the similar expression, "do not be afraid of them" (Deut. 1:29; Num. 14:9).

Though Deuteronomy does not report Caleb and Joshua's effort to calm the people in time of rebellion, this does not seem to be due to the ignorance of the account in Numbers by the author of Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy refers to Caleb and Joshua as the only adults among the exodus generation who were exempted from the punishment of not entering the land. What Moses omitted about Caleb and Joshua is implied by Yahweh's permission for them to enter the promised land (Deut. 1:36, 38). This is another typical example of the use of earlier history in a sermon illustration: the preacher does not give a fuller description of the event but merely alludes to it.

Moreover, in contrast to the unfaithful people Caleb is presented as a model to follow: "Caleb followed Yahweh wholeheartedly" (Deut. 1:36b), while Joshua is presented as the one who will lead Israel to inherit the land (1:38b). Joshua's future role as a leader is immediately mentioned with the account of Moses' exclusion from the promised land (Deut 1:37-38).[184] The final episode (Deut. 1:40-46) again reveals the people's deeply rooted perversity. When Yahweh commanded them to go up (1:21) they refused (1:26). Now when Yahweh commands them not to go up (1:35), they insist on going up (1:41).

Deuteronomy 1:19-33 includes several statements about Yahweh before Yahweh pronounces the judgment against the people (Deut. 1:34ff). All the statements of the spies and Moses are positive and confirm the goodness and faithfulness of Yahweh (e.g., Deut. 1:25, 30-31, 33), while the statement of the people is very negative and disparages Yahweh's attitude toward them (Deut. 1:27).[185]

Deuteronomy does not simply recount the history of the nation in a dispassionate way. The material is "carefully phrased to show that Israel must remember the lessons of the past and continually apply them to the future--the key to acting properly at Moab, for example, lies in learning from the mistakes of Kadesh Barnea."[186]

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[183]Cf. also Num. 13:30 where Caleb alone tries to silence the people.

[184]While the people are described as the ones to be blamed for Yahweh's denial of Moses' entry into the promised land in Deut. 1:37, Deut. 32:51 attributes this denial to Moses himself (cf. Num. 20:11-12). There is no need to see contradiction here. R. Brown (1993: 43) explains that Moses' great mistake would never have happened if the people trusted in Yahweh at Kadesh Barnea.

[185]P. D. Miller (1990), 33. It is interesting that the report of the spies about the giant people and their fortified cities which caused the people's distrust of Yahweh does not come from the mouth of the spies but of the people (Deut. 1:28).

[186]J. G. Millar (1994), 15.

4.8.2. Sihon and Og

Another section where the Deuteronomy account is strikingly different from its parallel in Numbers is the account of the victory over Sihon (Deut. 2:24-37). While Yahweh is the key actor in Deuteronomy, he is not even mentioned in Numbers 21:21-31. In Deuteronomy, victory is credited to Yahweh.[187] Yahweh promises [נָתַתִּי בְיָדְךָ אֶת־סִיחֹן] (2:24, cf. 2:31: הַחִלֹּתִי תֵּת לְפָנֶיךָ אֶת־סִיחֹן וְאֶת־אַרְצוֹ) and the promise is fulfilled by a victory ascribed to Yahweh in verse 33 [וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְפָנֵינוּ] and verse 36 [אֶת־הַכֹּל נָתַן יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְפָנֵינוּ]. The account of Sihon is pervaded by an emphasis on Yahweh's faithfulness and power. He promises, and his own power achieves victory. Barker notes:

> Even Sihon's opposition to terms of peace in v30 is attributed to Yahweh, כִּי־הִקְשָׁה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶת־רוּחוֹ וְאִמֵּץ אֶת־לְבָבוֹ, showing this is Yahweh's war. The same emphasis on divine control occurs in the account of Og which is modelled on the account of Sihon (3:2, 3). Indeed, the victory over Sihon and Og is signalled as God's work as early as 1:4. Yet human responsibility is never denied. The people are commanded to fight and their obedience is recorded (2:34-36; 3:3-10). Despite Yahweh's action on Sihon's spirit and heart, his own responsibility and guilt are upheld. Nonetheless, human responsibility comes under divine sovereignty. The two are not incompatible.[188]

The changes we find in Deuteronomy have been aptly described as "conscious deviation" from the earlier narratives in Numbers.[189] Deuteronomy does not simply recount the history of the nation in a dispassionate way. The material is "carefully phrased to show that Israel must remember the lessons of the past and continually apply them to the future--the key to acting properly at Moab, for example, lies in learning from the mistakes of Kadesh Barnea."[190]

4.8.3. Transformation of the golden calf material

We shall now examine how Deuteronomy transforms the episode of the golden calf as reported in Exodus. A correct understanding of the differences between conventional "historical narrative" and "historical incident used as a sermon illustration" will be essential to enable us to understand the differences between the two versions of the golden calf incident.

First of all, sermon illustrations are usually shorter than the historical narrative on which they are based. The account of the golden calf in Exodus 32-34* is three times

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[187]P. A. Barker (1995), 49.
[188]P. A. Barker (1995), 49.
[189]G. W. Coats (1968), 194.
[190]J. G. Millar (1994), 15.

longer than the account in Deuteronomy 9-10*.[191] The preacher usually does not attempt to describe historical events in full in his sermon. Sermon illustrations tend to recount the story in summary fashion, because a full and lengthy description of the events might blur the message of the sermon. The purpose of sermon illustrations is not to give full details of an event but to illuminate the point of the message or convincingly persuade the audience. Preachers usually select only a few incidents from history which are relevant to their sermon. Of course, this phenomenon is not exclusive to sermon illustrations[192] but more prominent in this literary genre than historical narratives.

The genre of farewell speech provides another reason why the preacher is able to recount the episode in a summary fashion rather than to present it with full description. Farewell speeches almost always assume that their audience is already familiar with the historical events being referred to.[193] So Moses is not compelled to repeat the full version of the episodes he refers to, he only uses certain parts which are relevant to his sermon.

The following examples clearly show particular ways in which the golden calf incident is told in Exodus and Deuteronomy:

4.8.3.1. Omissions

While Exodus painstakingly describes the cause of the incident (the extended absence of Moses), the detailed development (the making of the calf), and its end result (the sacrifices to and dancing before the calf) (Exod. 32:1-6), Deuteronomy does not mention any of these incidents. Almost out of the blue, without giving a precise description of the incident, Yahweh commands Moses to go down quickly from the mountain and announces the total destruction of the people and a fresh beginning with Moses. Deuteronomy does not mention why and how the people made the calf, nor the detail of the people's apostasy (cf. Exod. 32:8b). The short but significant word "a cast idol" [מַסֵּכָה] (Deut. 9:12) used by the preacher is just enough to remind the reader of all the detail of the incidents in Exodus 32:1-6 and 8b. The preacher does not devote much space to the description of the incident but uses it to highlight his point.

There are more examples of Deuteronomy's silence about details of the events dealt with in Exodus. In Exodus, Moses' anger burned hot and he broke the two tablets

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[191]I. Wilson (1995), 119.

[192]Any episode used in a historical narrative has to be carefully selected in accordance with the purpose of the discourse or book where it appears.

[193]Cf. the historical review of the typical farewell speech, for e.g., Josh. 23:3-4; 24:2-13; 1 Sam. 12:6-13. In the previous chapter we argued that the golden calf episode in Deuteronomy 9-10* is earlier than the account in Exodus 32-34*. The dependence of Deuteronomy 9-10* on Exodus 32-34* can be expanded in the case of Deuteronomy 1-3, i.e., the historical review in Deuteronomy 1-3 is dependent on the accounts in Numbers. See, especially, G. J. Wenham (1981), 115-26; M. Weinfeld (1991), 141-53; P. A. Barker (1995).

(Exod. 32:19) as soon as he discovered what the people had made and what they were doing at the scene of the idolatry. In Deuteronomy, however, Moses does not mention his anger at the discovery of the people's sin (Deut. 9:16-17; cf. Exod. 32:19b), nor describe concretely what he discovered. Instead he describes it abstractly or theologically. The omission of Moses' anger in Deuteronomy can be explained by the sermonic nature of Deuteronomy as an effort to make the message of the sermon more straightforward. Instead Moses does mention Yahweh's anger against the people and against Aaron.[194] Moses seems to stress here that his breaking of the tablets in anger was not an impulsive act but represents a divine anger.

Many other features of the incident which have ample descriptions in Exodus are only briefly alluded to or totally omitted in Moses' discourse. Joshua who plays an important role in Exodus 32-34* is not referred at all in Moses' sermon in Deuteronomy 9-10*. With regard to the destruction of the calf, Moses omits the final measure in the destruction of the calf (the drinking motif) in his sermon. Nor do Moses' confrontation with Aaron (Exod. 32:21-24; cf. Deut. 9:20) and the judgement executed by the Levites (Exod. 32:25-29; cf. Deut. 10:8-9) appear in Moses' sermon. Moses also does not mention Yahweh's punishment of the people (Exod. 32:35). The whole chapter 33 of Exodus has no parallel in Moses' sermon in Deuteronomy: the people's mourning and stripping off their ornaments after Yahweh's announcement of a limited guidance by an angel (Exod. 33:1-6), the account of the tent of meeting (33:7-11), Moses' intercession for the people (33:12-23). Since Moses does not mention in his sermon the prayer recorded in Exodus 33:12-23, he also omits Yahweh's answer to his request and Yahweh's command related to it, i.e., the proclamation of Yahweh's name and the preparation for it (Exod. 34:2-3, 5-9) and its aftermath, the account of Moses' shining face (34:29b-35).

Even the process of the renewal of the covenant (Exod. 34:10-27), which occupies an important place in Exodus, is not referred to at all in Moses' sermon in Deuteronomy. Of course, not all the omissions or compressions of these episodes can be explained from the genre perspective but no doubt the reason for many of these gaps is the sermonic nature of Deuteronomy.

4.8.3.2. Additions

The second, and opposing characteristic of the sermon illustration is that the preacher may not only abbreviate the past historical episode but also freely add additional information, not found in the original historical narrative,[195] to highlight the point of his

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[194]Yahweh's anger against Aaron does not appear in Exodus. See our discussion below.

[195]This phenomenon could raise the issue of the reliability of the material used in the sermon illustration. But if we take seriously the final form of the text and, hence, admit Deuteronomy as a sermon

sermon. Deuteronomy 9-10, like most sermon illustrations, is characterised by brevity in comparison to the earlier source narrative, but nevertheless a number of points appear which are not found in Exodus 32-34. As omission is a dominant mode in sermon illustrations, the unusual additional elements are often revealing about the points the preacher wants to stress. Examples of Deuteronomy's additional material are as follows.

First of all, in Deuteronomy Moses refers to his prayers several times. A striking feature, unique to Deuteronomy, is that Moses refers to Yahweh's anger against Aaron and his intercession for Aaron (Deut. 9:20) which have no parallel in Exodus. After some forty years after the golden calf incident, Moses reminds the people that even Aaron, the first high-priest, was under Yahweh's judgment and in danger of destruction. On the one hand, Yahweh's anger against Aaron highlights the gravity of the sin but, on the other hand, Aaron's escape from Yahweh's anger (by means of Moses' intercession) highlights the grace of Yahweh. By referring to Yahweh's anger against Aaron, Moses demonstrates the seriousness of the people's sin, led by Aaron, and by referring to his intercession for Aaron, he emphasises the mercy and grace of Yahweh, who forgave Aaron.

In the same way Moses' mention of his intercessory prayer for the people (Deut. 9:18-19a) highlights the seriousness of their sin on the one hand, while Yahweh's favourable answer to his prayer (9:19b) demonstrates the mercy and grace of Yahweh, on the other hand.

Secondly, Moses describes his prayer posture and forty days fasting (Deut. 9:18, 25), neither of which appear in Exodus. In Deuteronomy Moses is not interested in the words of his prayer.[196] In contrast to the accounts of Moses' prayer in Exodus where most of the space is devoted to reporting the content of each prayer in dialogue form, Moses appeals to the people's imagination in Deuteronomy by describing the situation and his prayer posture in a lively way, which also gave an impression of his emotional state.

> Then I lay prostrate before Yahweh as before, forty days and forty nights; I neither ate bread nor drank water, because of all the sin you had committed, provoking Yahweh by doing what was evil in his sights. For I was afraid of the anger and wrath with which Yahweh was wrathful against you in order to destroy you. But Yahweh listened to me that time also. Yahweh was so angry with Aaron that he was ready to destroy him, but I interceded also on behalf of Aaron at that same time. (Deut. 9:18-20)

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delivered to the people at the verge of the promised land, we can attribute the additional factors to the preacher himself, Moses, who eyewitnessed all the events.

[196]Exodus reports Moses' intercession for the people in various occasions and also recounts the contents of each prayer in great detail (Exod. 32:11-14, 30-34; 33:12-23; 34:9). Though Moses mentions that he prayed for the people and Aaron (Deut. 9:18-20) in Deuteronomy, he does not state the contents. The content of Moses' prayer appears only once in Deuteronomy (Deut. 9:25-29). Moses' prayer in Deut. 9:25-29, however, is not exactly same but similar to the prayer in Exodus 32:11-14.

Moses had no reason to humiliate himself [וָאֶתְנַפַּל, *lit.* "I made myself to fall"] before Yahweh on his own behalf, nor to fast forty days and forty nights several times. Moses, however, identified himself with the people and felt he shared the people's fate.[197] Moses' description of his actions here makes an appeal to the people, since he did this because of their sin, not his. Moses was afraid [יגר] before Yahweh's anger and wrath against the people. Moses' description of his prayer posture and his emotional state powerfully exposes the preacher's heart without quoting his long prayers in Exodus.

Finally, Moses refers to other rebellious incidents during the wilderness journey in his sermon (Deut. 9:22-24) and also refers to the journey itinerary after the golden calf incident, and gives an account of Aaron's death (10:6-7), none of which appear in Exodus 32-34. The former highlights the people's sin, whereas the latter Yahweh's grace, since their continued journey, instead of the total destruction, implies Yahweh's forgiveness of their sin. These additional elements can again be understood as the preacher's effort to remind the people that they were continuously rebellious and as demonstrations of Yahweh's grace.

4.8.3.3. Dischronologisation

The third characteristic of the sermon illustration is that the preacher may not only abridge or expand the original historical narratives but also change the sequence of events. The preacher is not bound to follow a strictly chronological sequence of the events in his use of the historical material. Sermon illustrations prefer to follow a sequence which obeys the logic of the sermon. This is not to say that historical narratives themselves necessarily present historical events in strictly chronological sequence. But if we compare these two types of narratives, historical narratives are more likely to be arranged in roughly chronological order, whereas sermon illustrations tend to be arranged in some other sequence which has a logic of its own.

This can be illustrated in the account of the ark in Deuteronomy 10. The making of the ark and the deposition of the tablets in the ark in Deuteronomy 10:2-5 do not appear in Exodus 32-34. According to Exodus, the instruction to make the ark was given while Moses was on the top of the mountain some time *before* the golden calf incident, related in Exodus 25:10-16, while the ark was made by Bezalel *after* Moses' descent with the second set of the tablets (Exod. 37:1:5). In addition, Moses only deposited the tablets in the ark at the end of the book, after the erection of the tabernacle in Exodus 40:20.

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[197]Moses' solidarity with the people's fates is explicitly stated in Moses' prayer in Exodus 32:32; 33:13, 15-16.

At first glance the account of the ark in Deuteronomy seems to contradict the Exodus account, and many scholars have explained these features in terms of different sources and redaction. However, this kind of dischronologisation is perfectly legitimate in the sermon. The obvious breaking of the chronological sequence in the account of the ark in Deuteronomy is not accidental but deliberate. In Deuteronomy Moses looks back on the past forty years kaleidoscopically. In order to highlight Yahweh's grace Moses brings together Yahweh's command to make the ark, the making of the ark, and the deposition of the tablets in the ark at one place altogether (Deut. 10:1-5). In his sermon Moses is free from the constraints of chronology and is able to present events thematically. Ignoring the chronology of events, Moses shows that through the deposition of the tablets in the ark (a symbol of the presence of God) that their relationship with Yahweh had been fully restored.

The ark account is not the only example of dischronologisation in Deuteronomy.[198] The account of Moses' prayer is also out of sequence. Moses' first intercession, in Exodus 32:11-13, follows immediately Yahweh's revelation of his intention to annihilate the people (32:7-10). In Deuteronomy Moses' prayer does not appear after this announcement (see Deut. 9:12-14), but a prayer very similar in terms of content and vocabulary appears later, in Deuteronomy 9:25-29.[199] This arrangement exhibits the strategy of the preacher: Moses presents first all the elements related to the sinfulness of the people in the first part of his sermon illustration. Then, after having highlighted the gravity of the people's sin, Moses gathers all the elements which demonstrate the mercy and grace of Yahweh. As a result, the faithlessness of the people forms a striking contrast to the faithfulness of Yahweh. To maximise the sermonic effect, Moses does not present the content of his prayer in the first part but introduces it as a turning point at the beginning of the second part.

A further example of dischronologisation occurs in Deuteronomy 9:18-19, 20, 21, which is the reverse of events in Exodus 32:20, 21-24, 30-34. In Exodus the order is: first, the destruction of the calf; second, Moses' confrontation with Aaron; and third, Moses' intercession for the people. In Deuteronomy, however, Moses' intercession for the people appears first and, then, his concern for Aaron, followed by the destruction of the calf.[200]

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[198]Most of the events in Deuteronomy 9-10* are recollected in summary fashion rather than sequentially precise. Cf. also the journey report in Deut. 10:6-7. The itinerary contains some names in common with Num. 33:30-33, but in reverse order. C. J. H Wright (1996: 143) thinks that the Israelites seemed to visit the same sites in more than one direction of movement.

[199]Deut. 9:28 seems to combine two different motifs from Exod. 32:12 and Num. 14:16: the malicious intent of Yahweh behind the exodus (Exod. 32:12) and the inability of Yahweh to bring them to the promised land (Num. 14:16). On the basis of this observation S. Boorer (1992: 304) argues that Deuteronomy is later than Exodus and Numbers.

[200]S. Boorer (1992), 303.

At the conclusion of the episode in Deuteronomy Yahweh's command to resume the journey to the promised land occurs after the restoration of the relationship between Yahweh and his people (10:11). However, a similar command occurs *before* the renewal of the covenant in Exodus (Exod. 32:34; 33:1). Boorer suggests that this is because the Deuteronomy account "rearranged the order of elements in Ex. 32-34 in order to present a more cohesive argument."[201]

4.8.3.4. Repetition

The fourth, and the final characteristic of the sermon illustration is that the preacher repeats certain expressions in order to impress the audience. Most prominently the expression "forty days and forty nights" occurs five times in Moses' sermon in Deuteronomy, whereas the same expression occurs only twice in Exodus (24:18; 34:28). While Exodus relates this expression to the giving of the tablets, this expression is closely related to Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy: three times explicitly (Deut. 9:18, 25; 10:10) once implicitly (9:11).[202] This feature indicates that while Exodus is more concerned with the process of covenant ratification (i.e., making, breaking, and renewal of the covenant), Deuteronomy 9-10 is more concerned with Moses' prayer for the forgiveness of the people's sin and the grant of Yahweh's grace to the people who do not deserve to receive it.[203]

4.8.4. Conclusion

To sum up, the account in Deuteronomy 9:8-10:11 is in our view a fairly free recollection of the golden calf story as related in Exodus. In his sermon Moses makes use of the episode of the golden calf as teaching material for the people of Israel who were on the verge of the promised land. Moses uses various techniques in order to make his point clearer and more convincing. In most cases he recounts the episode in a summarised fashion, and sometimes he introduces new elements which do not appear in the original accounts. At other times he presents the episode without relating the events in the same sequence or at times repeats certain expressions which he finds especially significant. Consequently many of the differences between the two versions can be explained as due to the difference of their genre rather than the different sources or a complex redactional history.

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[201]S. Boorer (1992), 304.

[202]Only the first occurrence (Deut. 9:9) is explicitly connected to the giving of the tablets in Deuteronomy. In Deuteronomy the expression "forty days and forty nights" occurs at important junctures of the episode and functions as a signpost for the transition of scenes. See N. Lohfink (1963).

[203]Even though Exodus 33 devotes ample space to reporting Moses' prayer, here the focus of Moses' prayer is the presence of Yahweh which is crucial for the renewal of the broken covenant as a result of the golden calf incident. See especially Exod. 33:12, 15-16.

There is no doubt that to determine genre is a worthwhile exercise, though in our particular case it was not very problematic. The differences in the two texts are clear and should be evident to the general reader. However, the scholar who points out the fact that the golden calf incident in Exodus is not merely historical narrative, but one (though maybe the most significant one) of a series of rebellion stories, alerts the reader to the fact that the writer of Exodus is not merely setting out a series of historical facts. He probably has a message--one that is likely to be relevant for rebellious people of any time. But a study in genre only goes this far: it tells us that this is narrative with message. What that message is, is a different kind of study, which we must leave for a later chapter.

Similarly the scholar who highlights the sermonic nature of Deuteronomy is also doing a useful service, since the fact that this is Moses giving an address and not the author of the book speaking, could be missed if a random chapter of Deuteronomy is specified as a text for a church sermon, or read as part of a lectionary, or if a reader merely "dips into" Deuteronomy without starting at the beginning and reading right through the book.

It is generally agreed that sermons which are all cold facts and verse-by-verse explanations are of little value. The best sermons have an agenda: they aim to have an effect on the hearer. They aim to encourage the discouraged, to lift the sights of the hearer from the nitty gritty of everyday to a sight of God's longer term plans, they encourage the listener to get involved in God's scheme of things, to avoid certain courses of action, to choose the good and refuse the evil, and so on. So once we understand that Deuteronomy is a sermon the reader is alerted to likelihood there is a message. Again we see that a study of genre performs a useful function, in so far as it tells us what to expect. In Deuteronomy we are being preached to. The nature of that preaching we have yet to investigate.

Chapter 5

Discourse Analysis of the Golden Calf Episodes in Exodus and Deuteronomy

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter we examined how genre analysis offers an alternative explanation of the differences in the accounts of the golden calf in Exodus and Deuteronomy to the ones usually offered by source critics, and we showed that many of the differences can be explained from the genre perspective without breaking the integrity of the text. In this chapter we shall explore another way of considering the differences between the two versions, which again retains the unity of the text. The recent development of text-linguistics, widely known as discourse analysis, offers a new way of examining the text and, thus, offers another way of explaining the differences between the Exodus and Deuteronomy accounts.

In this chapter we shall apply a recent text-linguistic theory to our texts and carry out discourse analysis of the two versions of the golden calf incident. Then from the text-linguistic aspect we shall examine the differences between the two accounts. Discourse analysis, however, is a relatively new discipline not only in biblical linguistics but also in general linguistics. So before we apply the text-linguistic theory to our text we shall first trace the rise of discourse analysis as a new discipline in biblical linguistics. Then we shall summarise the assumptions, theory, and methodology of discourse analysis and the benefits of discourse analysis for biblical studies. Thirdly, by applying Longacre and Dawson's text-linguistic theory[1] to our text we shall carry out our analysis. Finally we shall note the differences between the accounts of the golden calf in Exodus and Deuteronomy from a discourse perspective.

Until the first half of this century the scope of modern linguists was limited to the sentence. This was also true of biblical Hebrew linguistics: even until recent times, Hebrew biblical linguists continued the earlier practice to break texts down into the smaller and smaller parts. They usually regarded a "sentence" as the largest unit for linguistic analysis. However, there is a growing consensus among recent linguists that discourse is an autonomous linguistic entity which is greater than the sentence or even a sequence of

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[1]R. E. Longacre, *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989); D. A. Dawson, *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*, JSOTS 177 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994). We shall discuss their theory below.

sentences. Though there is still an attempt to deny the need of "text grammars,"[2] many now acknowledge that the "discourse" entity may be analysed in its own right.[3] Bodine points out an interesting parallel development between biblical studies and linguistics, in which both began by isolating the unit (source and form criticism/traditional Hebrew grammar) but shifted to seek the meaning of the largest unit (canonical criticism and emphasis on the final form of the text/textual-linguistics).[4]

In the area of biblical studies, as early as in the late 1950s many American linguists who were working in Bible translation began to recognise the necessity for an understanding of the context beyond the sentence.[5] Discourse analysis, however, is still new to many biblical scholars.[6] Longacre's treatment of the flood story, published in 1976, can be considered to be the first extended text-linguistic analysis of a Hebrew prose narrative.[7]

Whereas the usual concern of linguists used to be limited to the level of the sentence, discourse analysis is concerned with blocks of material in and beyond the level of the sentence. The theory and methodology of linguistics beyond the level of the sentence were mostly developed by European linguists, and the theoretical foundations are still being established. This discipline was called "text linguistics" in Europe but is now widely known as discourse analysis.[8]

In contrast to the conventional sentence-oriented Hebrew grammar, discourse analysis seeks to apply its grammar (i.e., *text* grammar) to larger elements of discourse than phrases, clauses, and sentences.[9] As McCarthy says, "Discourse analysis is concerned with the study of the relationship between the language and the contexts in which it is used."[10] Traditional linguistic studies focus on lower units of language, i.e., morphology and syntax at the level of sentence and below, but text-linguistically-oriented discourse analysis deals with higher levels of discourse, i.e., sentence and paragraph, even up to the whole text.

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[2]See M. Dascal and A. Margalit, "A New 'Revolution' in Linguistics?--Text-Grammars' vs. 'Sentence-Grammars'," *Theoretical Linguistics* 1 (1974): 195-213.

[3]W. R. Bodine, "Discourse Analysis and Biblical Literature: What It Is and What It Offers" in *Discourse Analysis and Biblical Literature*, ed. by W. R. Bodine (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 2-3.

[4]W. R. Bodine (1995), 7, n. 22. "There is now a growing interest among Hebrew Bible scholars in the shape of their literature as it stands" (ibid., 1).

[5]See W. R. Bodine (1995), 3-4, for the brief treatment on this subject; see also R. D. Bergen, "Text as a Guide to Authorial Intention: An Introduction to Discourse Criticism," *JETS* 30 (1987), 327.

[6]Some initial discussion of this approach can be found in F. Andersen's *The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew* (1974).

[7]R. E. Longacre (1976), 235-61.

[8]W. R. Bodine (1995), 1.

[9]R. C. Culley, "Exploring New Directions" (1985), 169. This text-linguistic analysis is now applied to the biblical text and this method is known as discourse criticism. See Robert D. Bergen (1987), 328.

[10]M. McCarthy (1991), 5.

Because of its concern with grammar at the upper levels of a discourse, Dillard places discourse analysis at "the midpoint between traditional grammatical-historical exegesis and rhetorical criticism."[11] A well constructed discourse (or text) in any language must respect certain constraints which give structure to the text. In his review on Wolfgang Schneider's Hebrew grammar *Grammatik des biblischen Hebräisch* (1974), Talstra aptly comments as follows:

> To use language does not mean producing isolated words or even sentences; rather, it is formation of coherent structures of sentences: i.e. texts. ... Not the sentence is the largest unit of grammatical description but the text. ... The claim that the text is the largest unit of linguistic description has to do with another methodological decision: a language should be analysed according to its function: as a means of human communication.[12]

5.2. Theory of discourse analysis

Now we shall briefly present the assumptions, theory and methodology of discourse analysis below.

5.2.1. Theoretical assumptions of discourse analysis

According to Bergen, language is first of all a code. For written communication to take place successfully "it is necessary for both the writer and the reader to share a set of symbols that are understood by all parties to possess certain agreed-upon meanings."[13] He claims that the language code is "genre-specific." In other words, "every communication task within a given language has a set of agreed-upon expectations associated with it."[14] Differences in language code reveal different communication tasks and provide the reader with decisive clues about the intention of the author.

Discourse analysis assumes that text is hierarchically organised and that a higher level of textual organisation influences a lower level, not vice versa.[15] We can list the text organisation from its lowest level as follows: consonants and vowels, syllables, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, episodes, stories, sub-genres, and genres. According to Bergen, language is organised from the "top down." "Each successively higher level of textual organization influences all of the lower levels of which it is

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[11]R. B. Dillard (1990): 365.
[12]E. Talstra (1978), 169.
[13]R. D. Bergen (1987), 328.
[14]R. D. Bergen (1987), 329.
[15]R. D. Bergen (1987), 329-30.

composed. ... Upper levels of text organization, such as genre, place broad constraints on all lower levels, including paragraph and word choice."[16]

The theoretical assumptions of textual-linguistics largely correspond to the major principles of structuralist linguistics: the priority of synchronic over diachronic concerns, and the structural uniqueness of the particular language being used—in our case Hebrew. Textual linguists are interested in: markers for beginning and end; markers for internal transition; logical relations; temporal relations; spatial relations; successive references to the same objects, events, or qualities; and foregrounding and backgrounding.

5.2.2. Aims and gains of discourse analysis

A significant contribution of discourse analysis is that it helps us to determine the authorial intention. Discourse analysis provides guidelines for discerning the intention and structure of the text. Every part of a text is not intended by the author to be equally significant, and Bergen claims that levels of textual organisation that are more significant than others can be traced in all human communication.[17] The more significant levels he calls "nuclear," as opposed to those he calls "marginal"

In any language, there exists a normal profile which is adequate for a specific communication task. For example, there may be a standard order for information presentation, a typical unit length, and a distinctive type of information for various specific purposes. When an author produces a piece of writing, he drops certain hints in his text so that the reader can recognise the more significant parts of the text. These clues are given by manipulating three variable factors: (1) order of information, (2) quantity of information, and (3) type of information. The author may make clear which are the "nuclear" elements in the text by altering the usual order, the quantity, or type of information which is expected in a normal communication unit. Bergen calls this way of finding the authorial intention the "norm-deviation principle."[18] For this reason biblical scholars have to reconstruct the biblical language's norms by means of extensive statistical analysis of each different genre.[19]

In the case of narrative discourse, for example, we can distinguish between those events which are on the main story line and off-line story (or "supporting material") by paying attention to the tense-aspect morphology of the verb and word order. Whereas the

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[16]R. D. Bergen (1987), 330.

[17]R. D. Bergen (1987), 330: "Without this factor language would fail at one of the most basic tasks for which it was created: the impartation of authorial intention to the target audience. This is a fundamental axiom of all human communication and serves perhaps as the basic motivation behind the act of composing written text."

[18]R. D. Bergen (1987), 331.

[19]R. D. Bergen (1987), 331.

main story line presents events in a chronological sequence as in the real world, the off-line often breaks the chronological order of the events. On-line clauses do not introduce new topics of information, whereas backgrounded clauses have great freedom for topic change and introduce new information more freely. In the off-line clauses the emphasis is frequently on elements other than the verb. The verb on the main story line usually gives an indication of the order in which things happened, whereas the off-line verb is often of durative, stative, or iterative types.[20] In our analysis below we shall identify the main story line and various levels of off-line elements, and in this way this method will help us to find the highlight or peak of the story.

Discourse analysis allows the reader to interpret the text less subjectively, on the basis of the arrangement of the text. If we pay enough attention to the factors listed above, an analysis based on text grammar will shed light on the overall meaning and conception of a text and, we hope, provide new exegetical insights.[21]

For this reason we shall examine our texts by focusing our attention on the linguistic data evident in the present form of the text, rather than non-linguistic information outside the text—for example, scholarly consensus on the sources, redactions, and so on. This study will not only allow us to see, or at least test, the integrity of the text but may also provide another way of explaining various differences between the two versions of the golden calf incident.

5.2.3. Types of discourse and their typical structures

On the basis of these assumptions, Longacre, one of the pioneers in the area of Old Testament discourse analysis,[22] developed a discourse grammar (or "text-linguistic theory") which explains a variety of linguistic features in a given communication. In his book *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence*, Longacre, now followed by many textual linguists, such as Dawson and Winther-Nielson, claims that:

> (a) every language has a system of discourse types (e.g., narrative, predictive, hortatory, procedural, expository, and others); (b) each discourse type has its own characteristic constellation of verb forms that figure in that type; (c) the uses of given tense/aspect/mood form are most surely and concretely described in relation to given discourse type.[23]

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[20]W. R. Bodine (1995), 8.

[21]R. E. Longacre (1995), 22.

[22]Though he is not a specialist in Hebrew language, he had earlier showed his interest in the discourse analysis on the OT narrative: "The Discourse Structure of the Flood Narrative" (1976).

[23]Robert E. Longacre, *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 59. He analyses the Joseph narrative on the basis of tagmemic grammar. *Chambers English Dictionary* defines "tagmemics" as "the analysis of the grammar of a language based on the arrangement or positions of the elements in utterances."

Firstly Longacre argues that discourse structure cannot be understood without a classification into discourse types. He distinguishes various types of discourse: narrative, predictive, hortatory, expository, instructional and juridical discourses.[24] Secondly, Longacre (followed by Dawson) distinguishes Hebrew verbal forms into on-line and off-line materials. A certain type of clauses constitutes the backbone/mainline of the story/prediction/exhortation, and other clause types constitute the background of the story/prediction/exhortation, with various degrees of departure from the mainline. Longacre and Dawson classify them into different bands by different discourse types. According to them, in narrative discourse, for example, a chain of preterites/*waw*-consecutive prefix conjugations[25] constitutes the backbone/mainline of the story. A chain of preterites/*waw*-consecutive prefix conjugations expresses foregrounded actions, which he calls "band 1." Suffix conjugations (either "initial suffix conjugation" or "noun + suffix conjugation") constitute what he calls "band 2" and represent backgrounded actions. Within band 2, "noun + suffix conjugation" is outranked by "initial suffix conjugation." In our study they are distinguished by level 2.1 for "initial suffix conjugation" and level 2.2 for "noun + suffix conjugation."

Special mention needs to be made of the verb היה. The preterite of היה (i.e., ויהי) portrays the background situation and is therefore placed in a low band.[26] It is worthwhile to cite Longacre extensively:

> *Narrative discourse*, the story, takes the preterite (the so-called *waw*-consecutive with the imperfect) as its determining verb form. Clauses with this form (necessarily verb-initial) typically represent punctiliar sequential happenings with causal connections at least partially uniting the sequence.[27]

Another type of discourse, according to Longacre is *predictive discourse*, which he describes as "a story told in advance" (cf. 1 Sam. 10:2-6). This, he says, "is the inverse of narration."

> Here the *waw*-consecutive with the perfect (in necessarily verb-initial clauses) represents punctiliar and sequential projected happenings with at least partial causal connection.[28]

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[24]R. E. Longacre (1995), 23. The juridical discourse is prominent in Exodus, Leviticus and Deuteronomy (the "law" section). Juridical material both precedes Exodus 25:1-30:10 (which is instructional discourse) and follows it (Exod. 20-23 and 30:11-16, 31:12-17).

[25]R. E. Longacre (1989), 65, prefers to call the Hebrew WAYYIQTOL form the preterite rather than the *waw*-consecutive imperfect on the basis of comparative Semitic studies: "the preterite is *not* a historical development from the imperfect, but is a separate tense form that has come by convergence to resemble the imperfect."

[26]Longacre argues that "[E]ach discourse type has a mainline structure that consists of Hebrew sentences whose main verb is of a specified form, along with other sentence structures whose main verbs (including verbless clauses) round out in various ways the structure of that type of discourse." R. E. Longacre (1995), 22.

[27]R. E. Longacre (1995), 22.

[28]R. E. Longacre (1995), 22.

Longacre's *Hortatory discourse* has a mainline that consists of command forms, as one might expect, with imperative, cohortative, and jussive forms. *Expository discourse* is static and takes as its mainline verbless clauses and clauses with הי"ה. When other verbs occur, they are subservient, as anecdotes or illustrative material. "Thus, expository and narrative discourses are polar opposites in regard to the use of dynamic versus static constructions."[29]

Procedural discourse is goal oriented. The procedures may be implemented by any qualified agent--"for example, sacrificial procedures may be implemented by a priest."

Predictive discourse has a slate of participants, much as in a story, and is agent oriented.

> A predictive discourse is, in reality, simply a projected story; and, as observed above, the perfect and the imperfect flip grammatical functions between the two. Procedural discourse uses the *waw*-consecutive perfect (WQTL) in VSO clauses and the imperfect (YQTL) in NV clauses according to the encoding of major versus minor procedures.[30]

It is not only the mainline structure of each discourse type which differs but also other discourse characteristics differ from type to type. Longacre demonstrates that "the constellation of verb forms that figure in a given discourse type are structured so that one or more privileged forms constitute the mainline or backbone of each type, while other forms can be shown to encode progressive degrees of departure from the mainline."[31]

Longacre provides a ranking scheme in a graphic form which treats the *waw*-consecutive forms on the narrative mainline, and other forms as progressive degrees of departure from the mainline. He also provides a ranked scale of verb forms used in predictive, hortatory discourses. Dawson adds the verb-rank of expository discourse to the list. For convenience' sake we reproduced the tables of Longacre's verbal rank clines, which also appear in Dawson's *Text-Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*.

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[29]R. E. Longacre (1995), 22.
[30]R. E. Longacre (1995), 23.
[31]R. E. Longacre (1989), 59.

Narrative Discourse Text-type Verb-Rank Cline

Longacre and Dawson[32]

Band 1: Storyline Foregrounded Actions	1. Preterite
Band 2: Backgrounded Actions	2.1 Perfect 2.2 Noun + Perfect (with noun in focus)
Band 3: Backgrounded Activities	3.1 הָנֵּה + participle 3.2 Participle 3.3 Noun + participle
Band 4: Setting	4.1 Preterite of היה 4.2 Perfect of היה 4.3 Nominal clause (verbless) 4.4 Existential clause with יש
Band 5:	5 Negation of verb clause: irrealis (any band)-'momentous negation' promotes 5 to 2.1/2.2.

Narrative Prediction Text-type Verb-Rank Cline

Longacre and Dawson[33]

Band 1: Line of Prediction	1. wc + Suffix
Band 2: Backgrounded Predictions	2.1 Prefix 2.2 Noun + Suffix (with noun in focus)
Band 3: Backgrounded Activities	3.1 הָנֵּה + participle 3.2 Participle 3.3 Noun + participle
Band 4: Setting	4.1 wc + Suffix of היה 4.2 Prefix of היה 4.3 Nominal clause (verbless) 4.4 Existential clause with יש

Hortatory Text-type Verb-Rank Cline

Longacre and Dawson[34]

Band 1: Primary line of Exhortation	1.1 Imperative (2nd person) 1.2 Cohortative (1st person) 1.3 Jussive (3rd person)
Band 2: Secondary line of Exhortation	2.1 אל + Jussive/Prefix 2.2 'Modal' Prefix
Band 3: Results/Consequences (Motivation)	3.1 wc + Suffix 3.2 פן/אל + prefix 3.3 Suffix (with future reference)
Band 4: Setting (Problem)	4.1 Suffix (with past reference) 4.2 Participle 4.3 Nominal clause (verbless)

[32]R. E. Longacre (1989), 81; D. A. Dawson (1994), 63, 115.
[33]R. E. Longacre (1989), 107; D. A. Dawson (1994), 115.
[34]R. E. Longacre (1989), 121; D. A. Dawson (1994), 116.

Expository Text-type Verb-Rank Cline

Dawson[35]

Band 1: Primary line of Exposition	1.1 Nominal clause (Verbless) 1.2 Existential clauses (with אין or יש)
Band 2: Secondary line of Exposition	[Clause with היה]
Band 3:	
Band 4: Contest/Setting	[clauses types which have the greatest amount of action and transitivity]

5.2.4. Proposed methodology

In our analysis below we shall adopt the methods of Longacre and Dawson to illuminate the discourse structures of the golden calf incident in Exodus and Deuteronomy. We shall follow Dawson's charting methodology though modifying it slightly. Every proposition will be displayed in a separated line. While each main clause is distinguished by leaving empty lines before and after it, a syntactically subordinated unit (for e.g., subordinate clause, circumstantial clause, infinitival phrase, etc.) is displayed without leaving an empty line. Appositional clauses or phrases are also placed in separate lines but without leaving an empty line.

Taken as a whole, the golden calf incident in Exodus is narrative discourse. However, within this frame of narrative discourse we do find examples of various other discourse types, and we shall first of all identify the various discourse types in these chapters. In our presentation of the text, embedded discourses will be displayed in the dotted box. Likewise embedded discourse within embedded discourse is further distinguished by a dotted box within a dotted box.[36]

Then we shall focus on the identification of main-line and non-main line (or off-line) clauses in each discourse type. In narrative discourse, main line clauses advance the narrative by providing consecutive events, whereas off-line clauses provide a background information or additional asides, fleshing out the bones of the narrative. Off-line clauses frequently serve to impede the flow of narration and highlight a particularly significant moment.

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[35]D. A. Dawson (1994), 116.

[36]For the sake of space, Exodus 33-34 will not be dealt with here. We will confine our analysis to Exodus 24* and 32.

Finally we shall summarise the discourse features and their significance. Our analysis will serve as a textual commentary on the account of the golden calf in Exodus and Deuteronomy in our subsequent discussion.

It should be noted that the following analysis is not a thorough study on discourse analysis. The purpose of the analysis is simply to show that discourse analysis perspective provides an alternative way to explain the differences between the accounts of the golden calf. So it would be enough to present here the result of a representative example from each account. Then we shall suggest guidelines for discovering the intention and structure of the text. Then we shall compare the parallel accounts and explain the differences between them from discourse analysis perspective.

5.3. Exemplary analysis: Exodus 32:1-6

Exod. 32:1

וַיַּרְא הָעָם כִּי־בֹשֵׁשׁ מֹשֶׁה לָרֶדֶת מִן־הָהָר
וַיִּקָּהֵל הָעָם עַל־אַהֲרֹן
וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו

קוּם ו
עֲשֵׂה־לָנוּ אֱלֹהִים
אֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ לְפָנֵינוּ
כִּי
־זֶה ו מֹשֶׁה
הָאִישׁ
אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלָנוּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם
לֹא יָדַעְנוּ מֶה־הָיָה לוֹ׃

The three *waw*-consecutive prefix conjugations are on the main storyline (level 1): וַיַּרְא הָעָם "the people saw"; וַיִּקָּהֵל הָעָם "the people gathered"; and וַיֹּאמְרוּ "they said." The כִּי clause is the object clause of ראה; thus this is not an independent clause. The change of subject of the sentence, "the people," suggests a paragraph marker, as we have heard only of Moses and Yahweh in Exodus 25-31.

The people's speech is hortatory discourse. The imperatives [קוּם and עֲשֵׂה] are on the primary line of exhortation (sub-level 1.1).[37] The following אֲשֶׁר, כִּי and another אֲשֶׁר clauses are all subordinate to the main clause [עֲשֵׂה־לָנוּ אֱלֹהִים]; they are not at an inter-clause level. The first אֲשֶׁר clause describes the nature of אֱלֹהִים; the prefix conjugation is

[37]The imperative קוּם immediately followed by another imperative can be considered to be one clause.

used here. The purpose of the making of אֱלֹהִים is expressed with regard to the future journey: אֲשֶׁר יֵלְכוּ לְפָנֵינוּ "who shall go before us."

The כִּי clause [כִּי ... לֹא יָדַעְנוּ] provides the reason why the people requested Aaron to make אֱלֹהִים. The clause מֶה־הָיָה לוֹ is the object clause of לֹא יָדַעְנוּ and this is not inter-clause-level. The noun הָאִישׁ is the apposition to זֶה מֹשֶׁה. These appositional elements are resumed later by the pronominal element לוֹ and at the same time they are emphasised by being placed at the beginning of the כִּי clause.[38] The second אֲשֶׁר clause [אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלָנוּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם] provides further information about these appositional elements.

Exod. 32:2

וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם אַהֲרֹן

פָּרְקוּ נִזְמֵי הַזָּהָב אֲשֶׁר בְּאָזְנֵי נְשֵׁיכֶם בְּנֵיכֶם וּבְנֹתֵיכֶם וְהָבִיאוּ אֵלָי:

The *waw*-consecutive prefix conjugation [וַיֹּאמֶר] is on the main storyline (level 1). Aaron's speech is hortatory discourse. The imperatives [פָּרְקוּ "tear off" and וְהָבִיאוּ "bring"] are on the primary line of exhortation (sub-level 1.1). The "אֲשֶׁר + nominal clause" [אֲשֶׁר בְּאָזְנֵי נְשֵׁיכֶם בְּנֵיכֶם וּבְנֹתֵיכֶם] is a subordinate clause and provides a locative background.

Exod. 32:3

וַיִּתְפָּרְקוּ כָּל־הָעָם אֶת־נִזְמֵי הַזָּהָב
אֲשֶׁר בְּאָזְנֵיהֶם

וַיָּבִיאוּ אֶל־אַהֲרֹן:

The main storyline continues with a pair of *waw*-consecutive prefix conjugations (on level 1): וַיִּתְפָּרְקוּ "(all the people) tore off" and וַיָּבִיאוּ "they brought." The subordinate nominal clause [אֲשֶׁר בְּאָזְנֵיהֶם] provides a locative background.

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[38]See T. Muraoka (1985), 93: "Quite frequently a noun or a pronoun, or its equivalent, is placed at the head of a sentence, syntactically independent of the sentence which follows. This may be motivated by various factors, one of which is possible emphasis laid upon the opening word. This phenomenon is technically known by different names such as casus pendens, ..., etc. ... Another characteristic feature of the phenomenon is that the extraposed or fronted sentence part is usually resumed later by means of a pronominal element pointing back to it."

Exod. 32:4

וַיִּקַּח מִיָּדָם

וַיָּצַר אֹתוֹ בְּחָרֶט

וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ עֵגֶל מַסֵּכָה

וַיֹּאמְרוּ

אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלוּךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם:

Again the *waw*-consecutive prefix conjugations continue the main storyline (level 1): וַיִּקַּח "he took"; וַיָּצַר "he fashioned"; וַיַּעֲשֵׂהוּ "he made it"; and וַיֹּאמְרוּ "they said."

The people's speech here is expository discourse. The nominal clause [אֵלֶּה אֱלֹהֶיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל] presents the primary line of exposition (sub-level 1.1),[39] while the subordinate clause [אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלוּךָ] provides supporting information.

Exod. 32:5

וַיַּרְא אַהֲרֹן

וַיִּבֶן מִזְבֵּחַ לְפָנָיו

וַיִּקְרָא אַהֲרֹן

וַיֹּאמַר

חַג לַיהוָה מָחָר:

The *waw*-consecutive prefix conjugations are on the main storyline: וַיַּרְא "(Aaron) saw"; וַיִּבֶן "he built"; וַיִּקְרָא "(Aaron) proclaimed"; and וַיֹּאמַר "he said." Aaron's speech is expository discourse. The nominal clause [חַג לַיהוָה מָחָר] expresses the primary line of exposition (sub-level 1.1).

In verse 5 the name אַהֲרֹן occurs twice, showing that the narrator is anxious to stress Aaron's role, in spite of the fact that the altar must have been built by the people under the direction of Aaron.

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[39]See D. A. Dawson (1994), 116.

וַיַּשְׁכִּימוּ מִמָּחֳרָת

וַיַּעֲלוּ עֹלֹת

וַיַּגְּשׁוּ שְׁלָמִים

וַיֵּשֶׁב הָעָם
לֶאֱכֹל
וְשָׁתוֹ

וַיָּקֻמוּ
לְצַחֵק: פ

The main story line continues a series of *waw*-consecutive prefix conjugations (level 1): וַיַּשְׁכִּימוּ "they rose early"; וַיַּעֲלוּ "they offered," וַיַּגְּשׁוּ "they brought"; וַיֵּשֶׁב "(the people) sat down"; and וַיָּקֻמוּ "they rose up." The three prepositional phrases provide the purpose of the given action: the people sat down "in order to eat and to drink" [לֶאֱכֹל וְשָׁתוֹ] and they rose up "in order to play" [לְצַחֵק].

Having carried out a detailed discourse analysis of Exodus 32-34*, we may summarise the result of our analysis as follows. Exodus 32(-34*) as a whole is a narrative discourse, and the whole narrative is presented from the narrator's viewpoint. In the process of the narrative the narrator frequently quotes the speech of various persons (e.g., Moses, Aaron, Joshua, the people, and Yahweh). The quoted speeches are presented in a dotted box. The discourses which are not presented in the dotted box therefore all belong to narrative discourse. Within this large frame of narrative discourse we find a variety of discourse types such as narrative, predictive, hortatory, and expository discourses. Doubly or even triply embedded speeches are easily discernible in our presentation of the text. The quoted speech is not always the same type of discourse as the quoting discourse.

In most cases we were able to identify the discourse type of a given text by observing the backbone verbal form without much difficultiy. However, sometimes, the determination of the discourse type solely dependent on the basis of grammatical form can be misleading. So by observing the context we were able to determine unmistakably the discourse type. It is always important to pay attention to the context provided by the outer framework of the narrative, since this inevitably affects the nature of the smaller embedded discourse.

When we found one of the verbal command forms, such as imperative, cohortative, or jussive, we could almost always identify the text as hortatory discourse. But in some other cases, it was not obvious whether the text belonged to hortatory discourse or predictive discourse. For example, as mitigated commands are often expressed by *waw*-

consecutive suffix conjugations with a future reference, confusion can occur in cases where we find extensive use of the mitigated command form when deciding whether the discourse type is hortatory discourse or predictive discourse.

One of the main benefits of analysing the text into main-line and off-line elements is that we can then identify those elements which the text wishes to emphasize.

5.4. Exemplary analysis: Deuteronomy 9:1-3

We shall now analyse the account of the golden calf in Deuteronomy 9-10 text-linguistically in the same way as we did for Exodus 32 in the previous section. Here we shall present only another exemplary analysis of Deuteronomy 9:1-3. First we shall do a discourse analysis of our text. Then we shall discuss the significance of discourse characteristics of Deuteronomy 9-10.* Finally we shall compare the result of our discourse analyses of Exodus 32(-34*) and Deuteronomy 9-10.*

Deut. 9:1-2

שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל
אַתָּה עֹבֵר הַיּוֹם אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן
לָבֹא
לָרֶשֶׁת גּוֹיִם גְּדֹלִים וַעֲצֻמִים מִמֶּךָּ
עָרִים גְּדֹלֹת וּבְצֻרֹת בַּשָּׁמָיִם:
עַם־גָּדוֹל וָרָם
בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים
אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה יָדַעְתָּ

וְאַתָּה שָׁמַעְתָּ

מִי יִתְיַצֵּב לִפְנֵי בְּנֵי עֲנָק:

The imperative שְׁמַע at the beginning of the section signals that the section which follows this command is hortatory discourse. This hortatory speech began in Deuteronomy 5:1 and continues uninterrupted until a major macro-structure marker appears in Deuteronomy 27:1.[40]

The imperative שְׁמַע is on the primary line of exhortation (level 1.1) and marks the beginning of a new exhortatory section (9:1-10:11). The same expression with Israel as vocative [שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל] occurs also in Deuteronomy 5:1; 6:4 and 27:9 besides 9:1.[41]

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[40]Cf., however, Deut. 10:6-9 and see our discussion there.
[41]Cf. also שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל in 4:1; cf. 20:3.

The cut-off point of our section at Deuteronomy 10:11 is slightly arbitrary, since Deuteronomy 10:12-22 draws its concluding exhortation from the previous section (Deut. 9:1-10:11). Deuteronomy 10:12 also begins with the expression וְעַתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל. The particle עַתָּה or וְעַתָּה occurs only in speech and introduces "the result arising or the conclusion to be drawn concerning the present action from an event or topic dealt with beforehand." This particle is "an adverbial expression of time with logical force" and can be translated into "and now."[42] Nevertheless we shall limit our discussion to Deuteronomy 9:1-10:11: we are primarily interested in the comparison of the golden calf incident in Exodus and Deuteronomy, and therefore Deuteronomy 9:1-10:11 itself presents a self-contained discourse for this purpose.

The participle עֹבֵר provides a setting of Moses' exhortation (level 4.2). This clause is a main clause which has an infinitival phrase of purpose [לָבֹא] and the latter has another infinitival phrase of purpose [לָרֶשֶׁת]. גּוֹיִם is the object of the infinitive לָרֶשֶׁת (ל + infinitive construct).

The three appositions [עָרִים (9:1), עַם and בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים (9:2)] further explain גּוֹיִם, the object of לָרֶשֶׁת. The first apposition עָרִים gives further explanation of its antecedent גּוֹיִם. The second apposition עַם further explains its antecedent עָרִים and this is further explained by the following apposition בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים. In other words, the three appositions define their antecedent more specifically step by step. The last apposition בְּנֵי עֲנָקִים is then fully explained by the אֲשֶׁר subordinate clause. The verb יָדַעְתָּ in the אֲשֶׁר clause is retrospective perfect.[43] Here the first three objects of לָרֶשֶׁת are closely connected by the use of a common denominator גדל: גּוֹיִם גְּדֹלִים, עָרִים גְּדֹלֹת and עַם־גָּדוֹל.

The following suffix conjugation with the past reference [וְאַתָּה שָׁמַעְתָּ] provides a setting (level 4.1; a slightly higher level than the level of the preceding participle clause).

The reported speech, מִי יִתְיַצֵּב לִפְנֵי בְּנֵי עֲנָק, is the object of שָׁמַעְתָּ and is introduced without a quotation formula. The discourse type of reported speech has no relationship with the reporting discourse. In other words, regardless of the type of reporting discourse, the reported speech can be a narrative, predictive, hortatory, or expository discourse. Thus the reported speech is distinguished from the quoting clause by the dotted box in the display of the text. Here the reported speech with the prefix conjugation [יִתְיַצֵּב] is predictive discourse. The "prefix conjugation" is on the secondary

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[42]A. Niccacci (1990), 101.
[43]A. Niccacci (1990), 121.

line of prediction (sub-level 2.1). The threefold use of the personal pronoun אַתָּה in verses 1 and 2 is prominent.[44] The following diagram clearly shows the structure of verse 1-2.[45]

you [אַתָּה] are crossing over the Jordan today to go in
to dispossess
nations greater [גְּדֹלִים] and mightier than you,
cities great [גְּדֹלֹת] and fortified up to heaven,
a people great [וָרָב] and tall,
the sons of Anakites,
whom you [אַתָּה] know,
and you [אַתָּה] have heard,
"Who can stand before the sons of Anak"

Deut. 9:3

וְיָדַעְתָּ הַיּוֹם כִּי

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
הוּא־הָעֹבֵר לְפָנֶיךָ אֵשׁ אֹכְלָה

הוּא יַשְׁמִידֵם

וְהוּא יַכְנִיעֵם לְפָנֶיךָ

וְהוֹרַשְׁתָּם

וְהַאֲבַדְתָּם מַהֵר
כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה לָךְ׃

The *waw*-consecutive suffix conjugation [וְיָדַעְתָּ] expresses the motivation of the exhortation (level 3.1).

All the clauses that follow the conjunction כִּי in verse 3 are the object of וְיָדַעְתָּ, and are predictive discourse. The object clauses of וְיָדַעְתָּ are displayed within the dotted box in order to highlight the structure of the embedded predictive discourse, although they are not a reported speech. In this embedded predictive discourse the first three clauses begin with the emphatic use of the personal pronoun הוּא after the identification of this personal pronoun [יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ] immediately after the conjunction כִּי. The first participle clause [הוּא־הָעֹבֵר] provides the background activity (sub-level 3.2). Then the following two

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[44]Cf. the threefold use of the personal pronoun אַתָּה (i.e., the people) in vv. 1-2 with the three-fold use of the personal pronoun הוּא (i.e., Yahweh) in verse 3.

[45]Cf. also Deut. 9:1-2 with Deut. 1:28 and Num. 13:31, 28.

prefix conjugations [הוּא יַשְׁמִידֵם and הוּא יַכְנִיעֵם] portray backgrounded predictions (sub-level 2.1).[46]

The following two *waw*-consecutive suffix conjugations [וְהוֹרַשְׁתָּם and וְהַאֲבַדְתֶּם] are on the primary line of prediction in this sub-predictive discourse (sub-level 1). The suffix conjugation [כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר] is subordinated to the preceding clause and the verb דִּבֶּר is used in a pluperfect sense as a flashback in the subordinate clause introduced by כַּאֲשֶׁר.

5.5. Conclusion

To sum up, we can clearly see that the telling of the golden calf incident in Exodus is narrative discourse, and the whole narrative is presented from the narrator's viewpoint. In contrast, taken as a whole, the golden calf incident in Deuteronomy 9-10* is part of an extended piece of hortatory discourse, as Moses addresses the people on the plains of Moab. Within that sermon-like context of Deuteronomy various other types of discourse are evident, embedded as necessary to provide detail: narrative, predictive and fragments of other hortatory discourse within detailed contexts.

The different type of discourse in Deuteronomy explains the nature of the additional materials found in the Deuteronomy account (10:1b, 2b) which are usually understood as an intrusion to the text and explained by awkward use of the sources by the redactor.

The difference between the two may be described as differing in the degree to which they involve the listener or reader. In the narrated style of Exodus the reader/listener is involved in so far as this story is the story of his or her ancestors. The Exodus story is a story which defines a nation, it has made the Jewish nation what it is, and is still strong enough to speak in a Christian context. It is a story which teaches the nature of the God who has chosen this people to be his own, and this peculiarly evident in the golden calf incident, which prompts the text to break into poetic discourse:

> Yahweh, Yahweh,
> A God merciful and gracious, slow to anger,
> Abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness ... (Exod. 34:6)

In Deuteronomy the situation is somewhat different. Here the story is unfinished. It is a story with an "if," an unknown element which is dependent on the listener. In fact the listener is made part of the story. By situating Moses' whole sermon on the plains of

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[46]Cf. a similar structure in Deut. 3:28b:
כִּי־הוּא יַעֲבֹר לִפְנֵי הָעָם הַזֶּה
וְהוּא יַנְחִיל אוֹתָם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר תִּרְאֶה:

Moab before Israel had set foot in the land, the story of the Exodus, the wilderness and the golden calf incident are presented as part of a greater story which is not yet over. It is a story with rewards and promises, blessings and curses. How the story would end was dependent on the listener. How it will end as we read the story today is still an issue.

The whole section of the golden calf incident in Deuteronomy builds up to the key issue "So now, O Israel, what does the Lord your God require of you?" This has, of course, a long-lasting significance: today's reader can feel equally involved, equally invited to be part of the story.

But a question remains about the value of the exercise carried out in this chapter. We already knew from our genre studies, before we began the process of combing these chapters clause by clause, that in general terms Exodus was narrative and Deuteronomy was an address. It is true we are now more certain of this; the interpretation of certain verses has been clarified; we have a better idea of where certain sections or paragraphs begin and end, but certain alleged gains remain unproven. Is it necessarily true, for example, that on-line clauses are more important in the author's mind than off-line ones? This is not conclusively proved. And most significantly, whether the time and effort spent on such a detailed and technical investigated yielded sufficiently great rewards remains open to doubt.

Chapter 6

The Theological *Tendenz* of the Golden Calf Stories

6.1. The *Tendenz* of Exodus: Introduction

In the two previous chapters we examined how differences of genre and different discourse-analytical perspectives explain the differences between the accounts of the golden calf in Exodus and Deuteronomy. We shall now consider another area of study, and explore the theological *Tendenz* of Exodus and Deuteronomy, to ascertain whether this will be more helpful in explaining the differences between the two accounts. By "*Tendenz*" we mean the distinctive aspects of Exodus's or Deuteronomy's message or *kerygma*: What is the purpose of the text? What is this particular text aiming to say to the reader? We shall examine the *Tendenz* of the books of Exodus and Deuteronomy as a whole. We begin to examine the book of Exodus first by considering what various scholars have said about the *Tendenz* of the book.

6.2. A review of studies of the theological *Tendenz* of Exodus

6.2.1. B. S. Childs

According to Childs, the materials of Exodus are arranged somewhat loosely in historical sequence.[1] He notes that the text devotes very much more space to some periods of time than to others,[2] and this clearly reveals that "the interest of the writer falls on certain specific moments within the history."[3]

Childs divides the book of Exodus into roughly three parts on the basis of their content: the exodus from Egypt (Exod. 1-15), the wilderness journey (15:22-18:27), and the covenant at Sinai and its ordinances (19-40). Although Childs does not find any "conscious canonical shaping" of the book from this three-part outline, he does find some indications of "canonical shaping" in the smaller units within the larger structure of the book, such as the legal corpus (Exod. 19-24), the breaking and the restoration of the

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[1]B. S. Childs, *Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 170.

[2]For example, though the Egyptian captivity lasted 430 years (see Exod. 12:41), most of the materials in Exodus 1-12 are devoted to the events of a very short period before the deliverance. Similarly, Exodus 19-40 covers just a period of less than a year (cf. Exod. 19:1; 40:17).

[3]B. S. Childs (1979), 170. See also "Introduction" in G. J. Wenham (1987).

covenant (32-34), and the instruction and the construction of the tabernacle (25-31, 35-40).[4]

An important issue in understanding the book of Exodus is how one sees the relationship between the various literary strands. Childs views that the book of Exodus has undergone a complex history of development, and "the final stage still reflects tensions and friction from this prehistory. Yet ... the combined narrative is far more than the sum of its parts."[5] Childs, in particular, strongly refutes von Rad's view that there is a certain literary tension between the exodus and Sinai traditions.[6] The issue at stake is "not the presence of sources," but "how one interprets their inter-relationship and the process by which they were brought together to constitute the book of Exodus in the present form."[7]

Childs finds a close interaction between the narrative and legal material. "It is theologically significant to observe that the events of Sinai are both preceded and followed by the stories of the people's resistance which is characteristic of the entire wilderness wanderings."[8] He also considers that Exodus 32-34 plays an important function in relation to the preceding and following sections about the tabernacle. Exodus 24:16-17 describes the "glory of Yahweh" settling on Mount Sinai with the appearance of a consuming fire on the top of the mountain. The same imagery is picked up in 40:34 where the glory of Yahweh is transferred from the mountain to the tabernacle. "The presence of God which had once dwelt on Sinai now accompanies Israel in the tabernacle on her journey. ... The tent of meeting has become the centre of Israel's worship."[9]

Childs thinks the individual chapters in Exodus 32-34 were formed into "an obvious theological framework of sin and forgiveness."[10] While Moses was still on the mountain, Israel turned to false worship, and the golden calf incident in Exodus 32 is not described as an accidental misdeed but as a representative human resistance to divine imperatives. The people were "portrayed from the outset as the forgiven and restored community. ... [T]he positioning of Ex. 32-34 made clear that the foundation of covenant was, above all, divine mercy and forgiveness."[11]

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[4]B. S. Childs (1979), 171.
[5]B. S. Childs (1979), 176.
[6]See B. S. Childs (1979), 171-72: "It seems *a priori* unlikely that traditions so basic to the faith of Israel as the exodus and Sinai could have existed apart from one another in complete isolation for such a long period. Von Rad's theory does not reckon seriously enough with the fact that a traditioning process took place in the constant use by a community of faith."
[7]B. S. Childs (1979), 172.
[8]B. S. Childs (1979), 174.
[9]B. S. Childs, (1979), 175.
[10]B. S. Childs (1979), 175.
[11]B. S. Childs (1979), 176.

In his commentary Childs vigously pursues the issue of interpreting the Old Testament as part of Scripture of the believing and worshipping community. According to Childs, the Old Testament can be most adequately interpreted only within the context of the canon of the whole Christian Bible and, thus, the exegete can only accomplish his task when he or she sees the individual passage in its theological interrelationship with its "canonical intentionality."[12] In spite of his encyclopaedic insights and contribution to the theology of the book of Exodus,[13] it is difficult to grasp what he sees as the main theological thrust of the whole book, for his commentary has no introduction.

6.2.2. J. I. Durham

The theological significance of Exodus has also been emphasised by Durham.[14] Exodus should be "considered as a whole piece of theological literature, quite deliberately put into the form in which we have it, for very specific purposes."[15] Exodus is "theological in concept, in arrangement, in content, and in implication."[16]

On the one hand, Durham acknowledges that Exodus is made up of various materials, narrative, law and so on. On the other hand, he asserts that Exodus is not "literary or theological goulash," and affirms that the book "did not come together haphazardly or without a guiding purpose, or with no unified concept to hold it together."[17]

According to Durham the main concern of Exodus is the presence of Yahweh, which pervades the whole book. He views the theme of the first half of Exodus as "Yahweh's deliverance" and the second half as "the response of the people."[18] All the major events in Exodus, the deliverance from Egyptian bondage, the giving of the law, and the building of the tabernacle, reveal the importance of Yahweh's presence with the people. Exodus 3 and 4 describe the coming of Yahweh to Moses, and to all Israel in Exodus 19, 20, and 24.

The pillar of cloud and fire (a symbol of the presence of Yahweh) guides the people along the correct route of exodus (13:21-22) and "interposes a protective screen between fleeing Israel and the pursuing Egyptians"[19] (14:19-20, 24). The song of Moses which celebrates Yahweh's victory in the sea ends with a celebration of Yahweh's

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[12]B. S. Childs (1979), 79.

[13]See the sections on Old testament and New Testament context, besides his critical sections on textual, literary, form-critical, and traditio-historical analysis.

[14]John I. Durham, *Exodus*, WBC (Waco: Word Books, 1987).

[15]J. I. Durham (1987), xx.

[16]J. I. Durham (1987), xx.

[17]J. I. Durham (1987), xxi.

[18]J. I. Durham (1987), xix; "the Presence of Yahweh from whom both Rescue and Response ultimately derive" (xxiii).

[19]J. I. Durham (1987), xxii.

presence in his sanctuary (15:17). Yahweh promises to send an angel before the people to guard and guide them (23:20-23). The presence of Yahweh solemnises the covenant with Israel (24:9-11).

In the second half of Exodus (Exod. 25-40), the theme of the presence of Yahweh is evident in the instructions for the tabernacle in Exodus 25-31[20] and of the account of their construction and consecration in Exodus 35-40.[21] The book ends with the fulfilment of the promise that Yahweh would dwell with the people (40:34-38).

The theme of the presence of Yahweh is also uppermost in the account of the golden calf. While Moses was in the presence of Yahweh on the top of the mountain, the people lost faith in the presence of Yahweh because of the absence of Moses, his representative. It was the people's doubts about the presence of Yahweh that caused them to make the golden calf: they asked Aaron to make for them אֱלֹהִים who will go before them (32:1). The expression "gods who will go before us" clearly related with the motif of presence, but not that of divine presence but that of false divine presence. As a consequence Yahweh withdrew his presence from the people (32:34; 33:2-3) and allowed only Moses to experience it (33:7-11).

Moses' intercessions for Israel in Exodus 32-34 establish "Yahweh's presence as the essential and indispensable basis of Israel's very existence as Yahweh's people."[22] Moses' long prayer in 33:12-23 is devoted to persuading Yahweh to allow his presence among the people.[23] Exodus 34 describes in detail the preparation of the theophany (34:1-4), the actual theophany (34:5-9), and its sequel, i.e., the covenant renewal and Moses' shining face (34:10-35).[24] According to Durham, the sequence of the entire Sinai narrative was determined by a single factor, the presence of God.[25]

Durham points out that Exodus 19:1-15 is the introduction to the Sinai narrative, and for him the golden calf narrative has to be seen in the context of the coherent theological intention of the book as a whole.

> Any part of the narrative must be read as a part of the larger sequence, extending from the arrival at Sinai and the establishment there of one kind of relationship

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[20]Cf. Yahweh's promise of his presence among the people in Exod. 25:8: "Have them make a sanctuary for me, and I will dwell among them."

[21]M. Weinfeld (1991), 25, also characterises Exodus 25-31 and 35-40 as the divine immanence.

[22]J. I. Durham (1987), xxii.

[23]B. S. Childs (1974), 558, 582, also regards the presence of God as the central theme of Exodus 33 and entitles the heading of Exodus 33 "God's presence endangered."

[24]Moses' shining face results from his stay on the mountain in the presence of Yahweh.

[25]J. I. Durham (1987), 260. Durham finds two other themes in the book of Exodus: "deliverance" and "covenant." According to him, the covenant at Sinai is "the provision of a means of Response to Deliverance." J. I. Durham (1987), xxiii.

> with Yahweh to the prelude to the departure from Sinai under a different and tempered kind of relationship with Yahweh.[26]

Exodus 19:13-15 describes how Israel prepared for the experience of Yahweh's Presence. "With the Advent of Yahweh, Mount Sinai would become holy by virtue of his special Presence there."[27] Not just Moses but the people of Israel as a whole are the recipients of Yahweh's advent. The account of the preparation of the people (19:1-15) and their reaction to the theophany (20:18-21) bracket the central event, the coming of Yahweh to Sinai (19:16-25) and the famous Decalogue (20:1-17).

Then follow the narratives of covenant making (Exod. 24), disobedience (Exod. 32), judgement (Exod. 33), and covenant renewal (Exod. 34). According to Durham, the narrative of Yahweh's coming to Israel at Sinai (19:16-20:17) forms the nucleus of the book of Exodus.

> Everything preceding this narrative of Advent points to it, in one way or another, from the theophany of Moses' call in chap. 3. Everything following it stems from it: not only is the continuation of the Sinai narrative sequence a sequence turning on Presence and threat of Absence, even the covenant instructions and the symbols and personnel of worship are rooted in the assumptions of Yahweh's Presence.[28]

In 19:16-25 the people's indescribable experience of the coming of Yahweh is described by the storm and fire imagery (19:16-19a) which recurs in the Old Testament theophany accounts.[29] The entire mountain smokes because of the presence of Yahweh descending on it in fire (19:18). Interestingly Durham argues that the most significant point about the canonical form of the Decalogue is "not what this section contains but its location." The Ten Commandments are given "as an integral part of the Sinai narrative sequence, and as an essential segment of the account of Yahweh's presentation of himself to Israel within the sequence."[30]

The first commandment (20:3) is not merely an assertion of monotheistic conviction. This commandment is essential for the establishment of the covenant community: Yahweh had freed them from the bondage of slavery, guided them to himself, then finally came to them. "If they were to remain in his Presence, they were not

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[26]J. I. Durham (1987), 259.
[27]J. I. Durham (1987), 265.
[28]J. I. Durham (1987), 268.
[29]R. J. Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), 107-20; J. I. Durham (1987), 270.
[30]J. I. Durham (1987), 278. Contra A. H. McNeile (1931), lvi-lxiv; J. P. Hyatt (1971), 196-97, 217: they argue that the Decalogue in its present position is an uneasy insertion and disrupts the narrative sequence.

to have other gods."[31] We cannot miss how closely the first commandment is connected with the theme of Yahweh's presence.

Durham thinks that Exodus 32-34, more than any other material in the book, provides a more distinct and sustained emphasis upon the motif of God's presence. "If a narrative paradigmatic of what Exodus is really about were to be sought, Exodus 32-34 would be the obvious first choice."[32]

Durham rightly portrays Exodus 32-34 as a major crisis in the whole project, which Exodus sets out to describe. He speaks of "the theological yearning of the narrative of Exod 1-17" which comes to fruition in Exodus 19-20, which provides "guidance for response" in Exodus 20:22-23:33, is "guaranteed by covenant" in Exodus 24, and is "repeatedly suggested in the symbolism of the media of worship" in chaps. 25-31 (and even chaps. 35-40). But all this

> is thrown into terrifying jeopardy by a shattering act of disobedience that threatens to plunge Israel into a situation far deadlier and more ignominious than Egyptian bondage at its worst. The special treasure-people whose identity has been established by the arrival in their midst of the Presence of Yahweh himself are suddenly in danger of becoming a people with no identity at all, a non-people and a non-group, fragmented by the centrifugal forces of their own selfish rebellion and left without hope in a land the more empty because it has been so full of Yahweh's own Presence.[33]

Exodus 33:3, 5 relate the final outcome of the people's sin with the calf: Yahweh's presence will not go with them any longer. Durham finds a common element between Yahweh's command for the people to leave Sinai (Exod. 33:1-6) and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden (Gen. 3:14-24).

> They are to go up, guided by his messenger, to the place he had chosen and in which he had intended to live in their midst, but without him. In the place of his Presence, there was to be only Absence ...[34]

It is true that the messenger promised in 23:20-24 is a close equivalent of Yahweh's Presence, but the messenger is quickly qualified in Exodus 33:

> (1) his function is guidance only, and (2) Yahweh plainly states that he himself will *not* go up with them. Israel must leave Sinai, the place where they have known Yahweh's Presence, and they must journey forth in a way to have been graced by his Presence to a place to have been filled with his Presence with no hope of his Presence ever again.[35]

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[31]J. I. Durham (1987), 285.
[32]J. I. Durham (1987), 418.
[33]J. I. Durham (1987), 417-18.
[34]See J. I. Durham (1987), 437.
[35]See J. I. Durham (1987), 437.

The question seems at first to be left unresolved. Yahweh has yet to decide on its solution: "Now take off your ornaments and I will decide what to do with you" (33:5b). Yahweh's solution comes in Exodus 33:7-11, which describes the Tent of Meeting, a passage which seems somewhat different in both content and style from the sections that precede and follow.[36]

The tent outside the camp was a meeting place appointed by Yahweh, "a place where he made his Presence available on a periodic basis, to Moses primarily, but through Moses to any honest suppliant."[37] This tent of meeting had no connection with any rituals of sacrifice or offering: "it was exclusively and solely a place where Yahweh's Presence could be met."[38] Though scholars disagree with each other about its origin, there can be little question about the significance of the tent of meeting: "this Tent was a primary symbol of Yahweh's Presence, and especially of the accessibility of that Presence to those in need of guidance, represented primarily by Moses."[39]

> In his view the point of Exodus 32:1-33:6 is that
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> Yahweh, because of the sin of Israel with the calf, is *not* accessible to his people, and indeed intends fully that they should henceforth know only Absence. 33:12-17 continues that narrative and resolves its terrible tension at last with Yahweh's decision *not* to withdraw his Presence. An account of an appointed place in which Yahweh is accustomed to make himself available to his people simply does not fit into such a narrative."[40]

The tent was located outside the camp and provided a place of access to the presence of Yahweh for those who seeking to know his will. When Moses went out to the tent, the people knew that an appointed meeting with Yahweh was at least possible. They therefore looked towards Moses until he entered the tent. When Moses entered the tent, the column of cloud, both symbolising and concealing Yahweh's presence, would descend and take up a position at the opening of the tent. From this cloud, Yahweh would speak to Moses. The intimacy of Yahweh's communication with Moses is well expressed in the phrase "face to face" (33:11).

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[36]See J. I. Durham (1987: 440) for a summary views on various explanations concerning its origin and source distributions.

[37]J. I. Durham (1987), 440.

[38]J. I. Durham (1987), 440; see also M. Haran (1978), 265-69.

[39]J. I. Durham (1987), 441. But Durham cannot resist inserting a comment on the history of the text as he sees it: "This significance of the Tent of Appointed Meeting, even more than the style of 33:7-11 or its discontinuity with the narrative surrounding it, makes clear the complete dislocation of these verses in their present setting."

[40]J. I. Durham (1987), 441. Childs' opinion is that, regardless whether this section has its present place "by sheer accident" or has been deliberately located, Exodus 33:7-11 has been arranged in this way because of the topical connection (Moses as intercessor) and as a way of showing "a transformed people" and the "indirect" accompaniment of Israel by Yahweh. B. S. Childs, (1979), 591-93. Durham admires this attempt to take seriously the text in its canonical form, but he still questions the position of the pericope in the narrative and suggests that "it might work better if vv 7-11 had been located at the end of the dramatic Presence-Absence narrative, following 33:17 or 34:9 or even 34:35. As it stands, this brief notice about the Tent of Appointed Meeting simply cannot be made to fit its present location in the received text."

Exodus 33:12-17 contains three pleas by Moses and three responses by Yahweh. Durham thinks this part of the narrative has been designed to be the theological and literary high point of the larger narrative sequence. Everything in this narrative move toward the climactic pleading of Moses. Then Yahweh withdraws the threat of his "Absence" and begins to restore his "Presence." Durham considers Exodus 33:12-17 as the centrepiece of the narrative of Presence-Absence-Presence.[41]

Durham still finds the theme of Yahweh's presence in Exodus 33:18-34:9, where Moses asks that he may see Yahweh's glory (=Presence). Yahweh grants Moses' request, and there follows a theophany, the proclamation of Yahweh's name, and a further revelation of Yahweh's nature.[42]

When he was first commissioned, Moses had asked for the proof of Yahweh's presence. In a similar way Moses asks for the proof of Yahweh's presence in Exodus 33.[43] This leads to the renewal of the broken covenant by the new tablets of stone and the description of Yahweh's nature.

> The quest of Moses to see the glory of Yahweh is effectively a request that Yahweh demonstrate the reality of his promise to be present, indeed that he prove his Presence once again, as he did before the solemnization of the covenant that has been shattered. כבוד "glory" in this context is very close to a synonym for פנים "face, Presence," as the ensuing narrative shows."[44]

The concluding section of the golden calf episode in Exodus 34:29-35 deals with the issue of Moses' authority as Yahweh's representative. The purpose of this episode is to provide a resolution to the question posed by Israel's disobedience.[45]

Why is this narrative of shining face the conclusion of the story? According to Durham, Moses' authority that has been rejected by the people must be established in the eyes of the very people in order that Yahweh's revelation and instruction, both given and to be given through him, does not remain discredited.[46]

> Moses' descent from Sinai a second time with the two tablets ... is a deliberate contrast to his first descent in 32:7-35. There, he came down to rejection and chaos; here, he comes down to awe and acceptance. What makes the difference is obviously the re-establishment of Moses as Yahweh's own messenger. And what symbolizes that difference is Moses' shining face.[47]

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[41]J. I. Durham (1987), 445.
[42]J. I. Durham (1987), 451.
[43]J. I. Durham (1987: 451) finds some parallel elements between Exod. 33 and Moses' first experience on Sinai in Exod. 3-4.
[44]J. I. Durham (1987), 452.
[45]J. I. Durham (1987), 465.
[46]J. I. Durham (1987), 466.
[47]J. I. Durham (1987), 466.

> "[A]t the end of the Presence-Absence-Presence narrative Moses' credibility is restored. Israel can no longer doubt what he says when he reports Yahweh's Word to them, and Israel can no longer wonder where he is and what he is doing and whether he will return when he is beyond their sight. The way is thus cleared for the continuation of Yahweh's revelation, particularly in the fulfillment of the instructions he has already given."[48]

It has to be admitted that in so far as Durham's commentary is theological in its interest, it is obsessed with this one idea of "Divine presence" and it makes very little headway with any other theological themes which may be discoverable in the text.

6.2.3. T. E. Fretheim

Exodus is a book about the beginnings of Israel as the people of God. Like Durham, Fretheim finds presence/absence themes in the book:

> Exodus begins with an oppressive situation in connection with which God's presence is hardly noted (1-2); it concludes with a statement about God's tabernacling presence in the midst of a sinful people (40:34-38).[49]

The book moves "from slavery to worship, from Israel's bondage to Pharaoh to its bonding to Yahweh," and more particularly, "the book moves from the enforced construction of buildings for Pharaoh to the glad and obedient offering of the people for a building for the worship of God."[50]

One can only agree with Fretheim's view of the results of decades of source criticism:

> While few scholars doubt that the material in Exodus comes from widely different historical periods, the way in which it has been brought together into its present unity is much discussed, and there is at present no consensus regarding these matters.[51]

Fretheim admits that "Exodus is a patchwork quilt of traditions from various periods in Israel's life," but

> the text now has a life of its own and we have to come to terms with it as such. The concern is fundamentally a hearing of the text as we now have it. A central task is the examination of the amazing variety of the text's literary features to see how they work together to form an organic and coherent whole (e.g., repetition, point of view).[52]

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[48] J. I. Durham (1987), 469.
[49] T. E. Fretheim, *The Pentateuch* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996), 110.
[50] T. E. Fretheim, *Exodus* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1991), 1.
[51] T. E. Fretheim (1991), 5.
[52] T. E. Fretheim (1991), 6.

For Fretheim the book of Exodus is certainly concerned with issues that are theological and kerygmatic.

> Exodus is not socially or historically disinterested; it was written with the problems and possibilities of a particular audience in view and shaped to address that setting. The author(s) did not write for everybody in general or for nobody in particular.[53]

Fretheim thinks that the final shape of the book of Exodus had an exilic provenance because of the people's similar situation in Egypt and in the exile: Israel was "captive to outside forces" and "suffering under just judgment because of its disloyalty to God," just as the people of Israel are in Exodus. In this situation "the community of faith stands in need of *both* deliverance and forgiveness."[54] For Fretheim the text has not lost its power to speak, even today. The same issues of

> law and obedience, ... divine presence and absence, and appropriate worship places and practices would also have been important for Israel in an exilic setting. ... Yet the texts are presented in a form that is general enough to fit many comparable situations in the life of the people of God. Hence, wherever there is a correspondence of life situations, a word of God addressed back then can once again function as such a word.[55]

So, for Fretheim, the significance of the book is not the accuracy of its history but the way it reassures the reader of Yahweh's presence and activity not only then, but also now.

> The vehicle in and through which this word of God is addressed is a story about Israel's past. Yet ... the concern is not to reconstruct a history of this earlier period but to tell the story of a people in which God has been actively engaged.[56]

For Fretheim, the book of Exodus is filled with matters of theological interest, and these may be carried by various types of literature, whether story, law or liturgy.[57] The primary purpose of Fretheim's commentary is to draw out the theology inherent within the text and to honor "the concern of the text to address a word of God to its audience."[58] He makes a distinction between the theology *in* the present form of the text and the theology of the sources that the redactor may have used, and decides to concentrate on the

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[53]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 8.

[54]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 8. In my judgment, however, it is questionable whether these similarities support án exilic provenance of the book.

[55]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 8.

[56]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 8.

[57]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 11: "One best hears its theological views by reconveying them in literary forms closely related to those of the text itself: retelling the story, reformulating the laws, and recelebrating the liturgies. At the least all theological work with the text must take into account the genres in and through which theological statements are made."

[58]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 12.

theology of the final form of the text, since any attempt to determine the nature of any earlier theology would be "a precarious enterprise."[59]

Fretheim's view is that in general terms "the knowledge of Yahweh" is one of the major theological concerns of the book of Exodus.[60] First of all Yahweh is the Creator God. For Fretheim the book of Exodus is shaped in a decisive way by a creation theology: God's work in creation "provides the basic categories and interpretive clues for what happens in redemption and related divine activity."[61]

Yahweh discloses himself to Moses as the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (3:6, 13-16; 4:5; 6:3-8), and Yahweh's acts of salvation are seen as a continuation of the covenant made with the patriarchs (2:24). Ironically it is Pharaoh himself who asks the key question "Who is Yahweh" (5:2), and Yahweh shows himself at work not only to the people of Israel (10:2; 29:46) but also to the Egyptians (7:17; 8:10, 22; 9:14, 29; 11:7; 14:4, 18). Yahweh defines himself again in the context of the Decalogue (20:2) and in a more personal way to Moses (34:6-7) after the apostasy with the golden calf.

A concern for the proper worship of Yahweh is evident throughout the book. The overall movement of the book is "from slavery to worship," and this can be seen in the specific narrative content and also in the fact that "liturgical usage of this material has shaped the literature."[62] Exodus first asks the question "Whom will Israel serve?" and then moves on to enquire "Of what does the proper worship of Yahweh consist?"

> Worship themes continue in the eating and drinking of the wilderness, and especially at Sinai. The Sinai events of theophany, law-giving and covenant-making ... are permeated with worship themes and concerns.[63]

Negative possibilities are rejected, while other positive directions are encouraged and commanded. "Proper worship is understood to have both sacrificial and sacramental dimensions."[64] Exodus 25-40 explicitly focus on the instructions for and construction of the tabernacle, which was to be the "worship centre" of the community. But between planning and the building come Exodus 32-34, showing, in Fretheim's view, that "at issue in the apostasy of the golden calf and its aftermath is the proper worship of Yahweh."[65] Fretheim sees a movement from seeming divine absence to the fullness of his presence in the tabernacle. Especially the divine presence with the people becomes the central problem after the golden calf incident.

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[59]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 11.
[60]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 14-16.
[61]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 13.
[62]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 20.
[63]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 21.
[64]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 21.
[65]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 21.

> Will God go with Israel on its journeyings or not (33:1-3)? Finally, after the planning and building of the tabernacle, God in all the divine glory does dwell among the people (40:35). God will be faithful, but Israel can drive Yahweh away by its disloyalty. Israel's faithfulness in worship is seen to be absolutely central to its life as the people of God.[66]

Another feature of Exodus, according to Fretheim, is its great interest in the identity of Israel.

> Unlike Genesis, Exodus has to do, not with the family of Jacob, but with *a people*, the people of Israel. This change in identity is established in the opening verses, and in God's first speech ("my people," 3:7). Israel's status as God's elect people is in place from the beginning. They are the people of the covenant made with Abraham; the promises to Abraham are also their promises (2:24). Peoplehood is the presupposition of these events, not the result. The narrative is concerned with how these people more and more take on their identity, becoming in life what they already are in the eyes of God.[67]

Fretheim points out that the order of the main events in the book of Exodus is theologically important. First of all comes Yahweh's redemptive work on behalf of the people. "The elect people is now a redeemed people."[68] It is only then that the law is given at Sinai. "The law is gift to an already redeemed community."[69] Fretheim points out that "the law is not the means by which the relationship with God is established; God redeems quite apart from human obedience."[70] It is true that after that point

> the concern for the law suddenly fills the scene, not only in Exodus, but in the remainder of the Pentateuch. Central to the law is the issue of faithfulness to God alone, particularly as manifested in proper worship. Such faithfulness and other forms of obedience are certainly in Israel's own interests for the best life possible (see Deut. 4:40).[71]

Fretheim thinks that Israel is called "beyond itself," and that the Abrahamic covenant implies a vocation. She is called to be "a kingdom of priests among the other peoples of the world (19:4-6)."

> The golden calf debacle, however, demonstrates that Israel does not remain faithful. Israel's future with God stands at the edge of the abyss. Only God's gracious act of forgiveness enables a new future for Israel (see at 34:9-10). ... Obedience remains central for the sake of witness and mission to the world. And God's tabernacling presence undergirds Israel on that journey.[72]

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[66]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 21.
[67]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 22.
[68]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 22.
[69]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 22.
[70]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 22.
[71]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 22.
[72]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 22.

Fretheim describes Exodus 32 an unexpected "blast of cold air" within the overall setting of Exodus 25-31. Because of the people's attempt to take the future into their own hands and the way they compromised their loyalty to Yahweh, their future becomes very uncertain.

As Fretheim points out, the flow of the narrative is largely determined by the dialogues between Moses and Yahweh, and Moses as intercessor plays a crucial role in preserving the community from annihilation. Ultimately the future of Israel rests solely on Yahweh's mercy (34:6-7). As the story in Exodus 32-34 moves from sin and judgment to restoration, Fretheim finds a message of hope in the story as a whole.

Fretheim sees the close connection between the golden calf narrative (Exod. 32-34) and the chapters concerning the tabernacle which envelop it (Exod. 25-31 and 35-40). Exodus 32-34, like the construction of the tabernacle, is concerned with the divine presence and how God will be present to Israel. The people's making of the calf in Exodus 32:1-6 stands against Yahweh's command to construct the tabernacle.[73] The goal of the exodus deliverance, which was to free the people to worship Yahweh (3:18), takes a disastrous turn when Israel focuses instead on the calf (32:1-6).

The people forfeit the divine presence by breaking the most important commandment. The problem is not simply a matter of one disobedience to a law code but of unfaithfulness to Yahweh who had established a relationship with the people. As Fretheim sees a strong connections between Exodus and the Creation traditions, he understands the golden calf story as a paradigmatic fall story, this time of Israel in particular.

The key issue after the golden calf apostasy is to decide who is going to be responsible for the people, since both Moses and Yahweh disclaim any further responsibility for them. The key phrase is "who brought you out of Egypt," which occurs seven times in Exodus 32-34. The manufactured god is the subject of the phrase once, in the mouth of the people (32:4, 8);[74] Moses is the subject of the phrase four times, by the people (32:1, 23)[75] and Yahweh (32:7; 33:1); Yahweh is the subject of the phrase only once, in Moses' speech (32:11). The debate on the shift of responsibility between Moses and Yahweh demonstrates the seriousness of the people's sin.

Fretheim thinks that Moses' call in 32:26 ("Whoever is for Yahweh, come to me") is not a call for theological judgment but an invitation, a call for commitment to Yahweh

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[73]T. E. Fretheim (1991: 280) draws eight points of contrast.
[74]In 32:8 the people's speech is quoted by Yahweh.
[75]Aaron is quoting the people's speech in Exod. 32:23.

alone. "The issue is no longer whether they had participated in idolatry (see the "all" in v. 3) but whether they were now willing to declare themselves for Yahweh."[76]

Fretheim thinks that the account of the tent of meeting in Exodus 33 serves a number of purposes in its present context. From a literary point of view, it serves to "retard the action of the narrative to some degree," keeping the question of what God will do "at a level of continuing uncertainty."[77] In this context, verses 7-11 emphasise two things: firstly the people are portrayed in positive light, and secondly Moses' status as leader and mediator is highlighted, showing how close the relationship is between God and Moses.[78]

The confessional statement in Exodus 34:6-7 occurs many times in the Old Testament.[79] Fretheim thinks it is important to ask what is the function of this confessional statement (34:6-7) in this particular instance. Noticeably, in comparison with the previous, somewhat similar statement in 20:5, there are several new elements: in particular God is referred to as "merciful and gracious, slow to anger, and abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness," and again as "forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, but who will by no means clear the guilty."

> The reference to judging is removed from the beginning of the formulation to the end and is not accounted among the divine attributes listed in verse 6. Wrath is not a continuous aspect of the nature of God but a particular response to a historical situation. The divine jealousy is missing from the formulation, and though it will be strongly emphasized in 34:14, it is there no anger tied explicitly to judgment on Israel. Also omitted is the conditional phrase "who love me and keep my commandments" with respect to the showing of steadfast love.[80]

In Fretheim's view, the "fundamentally new" emphasis in 34:6-7 is on divine mercy, forgiveness and patience. The double emphasis upon God's steadfast love and the omission of the conditional elements stress the unconditionality of the divine love to Israel.

> The additional reference to not clearing the guilty, in the context of forgiveness, means "but not neglecting just judgment." The retention of the visitation of iniquity--even extending the generation--is a continuing recognition of the moral order (see at 20:5).[81]

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[76]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 289.
[77]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 295.
[78]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 295-96.
[79]For example, Num. 14:18, Neh. 9:17, Ps. 103:8, 17; 145:8, Jer. 32:18-19 and Nah. 1:3, and there are also numerous echoes of it, for example in Deut. 5:9-10, 1 Kings 3:6, Lam. 3:32 and Dan. 9:4.
[80]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 302.
[81]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 302.

Moses' prayer in 34:9 shows that God makes his promise not simply because of specific previous failure but because human beings are in any event liable to fail. Referring to Genesis 8, Fretheim comments that

> Human beings are sinful after the flood as they were before. The way into the future cannot be said to depend upon human goodness and loyalty. ... [I]t is *because* of human sinfulness that God promises to stay with the world.[82]

So Moses asks God to go with Israel, not *in spite of* the people's stiff-neckedness but *because (kî)* it is such a people.[83]

Fretheim points out that Moses does not appeal to any particular repentant act on Israel's part which might prompt God to forgive them, though 33:5-6 does indicate remorse on Israel's part. God now places the relationship with Israel on a new footing.

> It is now grounded in an event that is as profoundly "full of wonder" as what God has done in and to Egypt (see 3:20; 15:11): undeserved divine forgiveness of an apostate people. In contrast to chapter 24, this covenant is not characterized by any formal response from Israel. The new covenant is in place simply because God had determined that it be so. ... It is now no longer one to which the people agree.[84]

God simply promises to make this covenant on behalf of the people: no conditions are attached.

> Entirely at the divine initiative, at a moment in Israel's life where it is most vulnerable and can call on no goodness of its own or any other human resource, God acts on Israel's behalf: its sins are forgiven. *This is an entirely new reality for Israel, indeed for the world.*[85]

In summary, we may say that Fretheim is right in focusing on the theogical issues found in the final form of the book of Exodus. He, however, deals with too broad and too many issues (e.g., the knowledge of Yahweh, the proper worship of Yahweh, the identity of Israel, ...etc.) that it becomes difficult to figure out the specific theological message of the book.

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[82]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 303.

[83]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 304: "The four references to Israel as stiff-necked provide a clue to this interpretation ("stiff" has the same root as one of the words for Pharaoh's "hard" heart). Its first use in 32:9 gives the *reason* for God's judgment (comparable to Gen. 6:5-7), and its use in 33:3-5 indicates that God's tabernacling presence would only subject such a people again and again to judgment. Moses' prayer assumes that Israel will always be a stiff-necked people; it is the nature of its very being in the world that it cannot extricate itself from such a condition. But it is precisely *because* Israel is such a people that it *needs* God's close presence and constant pardon. It must be so undergirded if it is to continue to be God's inheritance (=elect ones) in the world. ... God's grace and mercy are requested for a people who stand always in profound need of just such divine action. Only because of such a God, who chooses to dwell among the people and stands ready to forgive, can a stiff-necked people move into a future worth talking about."

[84]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 308.

[85]T. E. Fretheim (1991), 308.

6.2.4. W. Brueggemann

Brueggemann proposes to use three kinds of criticism in approaching Exodus: literary, social, and canonical, and claims that these are more appropriate than continuing to pursue nineteenth-century questions and methods which tend to have an overriding interest in the history of the text.[86]

Brueggemann's exposition of recent literary-critical approaches is of note:

> The newer "literary criticism" is no longer preoccupied with the history of hypothetical sources and documents, but seeks to focus on the internal, rhetorical working of the text, assuming that the text itself "enacts a world" in which the reader may participate. Focus is not on external references, but on what is happening in the transactions of the text itself. This approach devotes great attention to the details, dramatic tensions, and rhetorical claims of the text itself. Such an approach requires great discipline to stay inside the world of text, and great patience in noticing the subtle nuances of the text. From a theological perspective, it operates with a "high view" of the text, suggesting that the world inside the text may be more real, more compelling, and more authoritative than other worlds construed behind or beyond the text.[87]

According to this approach, "the text becomes a field of imagination in which the listening community catches a glimpse of an alternative world that lives in and through the text."[88] As an example of this approach, Brueggemann draws attention to Moses' role over against Yahweh in Exodus 32-34 and comments as follows:

> Such a role requires that God should also be considered a character who can be impinged upon by action in the text, and who is placed at risk by the rhetoric and transactions of the text. Thus the decision of 34:10 that God will grant a new covenant to Israel results from Moses' insistent petition in v. 9, which in turn results from God's statement of available options in vv. 6-7.[89]

Brueggemann defines the mode of the Exodus text as liturgical, which means that the book of Exodus is used in public worship. He stresses so much the liturgical function of the text to the extent that at times he denies the historicity of the story.[90]

Moving on to social criticism, Brueggemann observes that texts are "never innocent or disinterested, but are always acts of advocacy." Thus "'social criticism' sees the text itself as a practice of discourse that is loaded with ideological power and interest.

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[86]W. Brueggemann, "The Book of Exodus," in *NIB*: vol. 1 (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1994).
[87]W. Brueggemann (1994), 681.
[88]W. Brueggemann (1994), 681.
[89]W. Brueggemann (1994), 681.
[90]W. Brueggemann (1994), 690.

Most especially, textual material about God is never 'mere religion,' but is discourse in which God is a party to social conflict and social interest."[91]

Thus Brueggemann finds a revolutionary voice in the narrative of liberation and regards it as the dominant voice in Exodus 1-15.[92] Brueggemann also finds ideological interest in the account of the establishment of the Aaronic priesthood in Exodus 28-29 and 39. Brueggemann claims that these texts seek to "establish the preeminence and monopoly of the Aaronide priesthood."[93] He even thinks that the "text about presence is a form of political discourse about power."[94] Consequently Brueggemann finds a tension between a revolutionary ideology in Exodus 1-15 and the consolidating (or reactionary) ideologies of Exodus 25-40.[95] But Brueggemann ultimately sees the victory of the "liberation narrative" over the "pattern of presence," because the establishment of Aaron's priesthood in the end depends on the authority of the great liberator Moses (Exod. 25-31, 35-40). In this context Brueggemann describes Exodus 32-34 as "a massive critique of the Aaronides."[96]

Brueggemann's observations in the context of canonical criticism are more useful to us. One gains very little, comments Brueggemann, "by probing the complexity of the pre-history of the text," whereas canonical criticism seeks "to read the text in its final, canonical form, taking the joints and seams in the texts as clues to the intention of the text."[97]

According to Brueggemann the aim of the text in its final form is to show that "the purpose of liberation is to live in covenantal obedience, in communion with God's glory." Brueggemann thinks the final form of the book of Exodus follows a definite sequence. It moves from liberation to covenantal law to abiding presence.

> As Yahweh "gets glory" over Pharaoh (14:4, 17), the book of Exodus intends to wean Israel away from the glory of Pharaoh to an alternative glory encountered on the mountain of covenantal law. ... For the book of Exodus, the culmination of glory in 40:34-38 is already in view in Exodus 1.[98]

The story begins with Israel in bondage, but ends with glory.

> By this sequence from liberation through covenantal encounter to assured presence, it is clear that the distinct political and religious themes of liberation, covenant, and presence cannot be kept separated.[99]

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[91]W. Brueggemann (1994), 681-82.
[92]W. Brueggemann (1994), 682.
[93]W. Brueggemann (1994), 682.
[94]W. Brueggemann (1994), 682.
[95]W. Brueggemann (1994: 683) believes that "29:43-46 shows that traditionists are aware of the tension and deliberately establish the juxtaposition of the two."
[96]W. Brueggemann (1994), 682.
[97]W. Brueggemann (1994), 682.
[98]W. Brueggemann (1994), 682-83.
[99]W. Brueggemann (1994), 683.

Brueggemann believes that a "canonical reading must take seriously a sociocritical reading. The canonical reading does not nullify the sociocritical dimension of the text, but makes a second level, intentional use of them."[100]

Brueggemann understands that the book of Exodus was primarily given to the community in exile and, thus, he emphasises that the main themes of the book (i.e., liberation, law, covenant, and presence) should be read in the Babylonian or Persian context.[101] He not only projects the (post-) exilic situation into the book of Exodus but also excludes any attempt to trace the ancient history of the exodus or cult in the desert period.

> Our own interpretive work, then, is not to reflect on an ancient history lesson about Egypt or about cult, but to see how this text, in new, demanding, and dangerous circumstances, continues to offer subversive possibilities for our future.[102]

However, he seems to go too far in this respect. Brueggemann does not explain why he thinks Exodus originated in the exilic or post-exilic period. He simply says that it fits in well with the exilic or post-exilic situation. Brueggemann's handling of the text is not so much an exegesis of the text as an application of the text. We, however, should admit that such a text can also fit well in our own situation at the turn of the millennium, as Brueggemann himself shows well in his criticism of consumerism, utilitarian religion and so on.[103]

Brueggemann finds four major theological themes in the book of Exodus, which he identifies as liberation, law, covenant, and presence.

6.2.4.1. Theme of liberation

Brueggemann finds the theme of liberation mainly in Exodus 1-15. It is undeniable that the exodus from Egypt occupies a central place in the whole Old Testament and provides a model for deliverance in the subsequent history of Israel. Brueggemann opposes those who do not acknowledge "liberation theology" as legitimate.[104] He points out that the liberation in Exodus was a primarily "sociopolitical-economic operation," not a spiritual or religious one and claims that Exodus 1-15 "is

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[100]W. Brueggemann (1994), 683.
[101]W. Brueggemann (1994), 680.
[102]W. Brueggemann (1994), 680.
[103]See W. Brueggemann (1994), 685, 818-19.
[104]See T. E. Fretheim (1991), 18-29; L. Eslinger (1991), 43-60; J. D. Levenson (1991), 134-74. W. Brueggemann (1994), 684, criticises Fretheim's view as "a kind of dualism that splits religious affirmation and social reality. ... Fretheim's separation of religious idea from social practice ends with a kind of 'idealism.' "

primarily concerned with the transformation of a social situation from oppression to freedom."[105]

Brueggemann's concern for the socio-political aspect is visible in his interpretation of the Decalogue. After the exposition of the views of Karl Marx and Norman Gottwald, he comments that:

> Thus the Decalogue stands as a critical principle of protest against every kind of exploitative social relation (public and interpersonal, capitalist and socialist) and as a social vision of possibility that every social relation (public and interpersonal, economic and political) can be transformed and made into a liberating relation.[106]

Brueggemann thinks that the wilderness narratives of Exodus 15:22-18:27, which follow the liberation story, constitute a subordinate theme in the book of Exodus, although this theme occupies a much larger place later in the book of Numbers. For Brueggemann, the wilderness theme serves to create a transition period from the Red Sea to Mt. Sinai.[107] According to Brueggemann, the wilderness sojourn, which began as a literary device of transition, later became a metaphor into which the exilic and post-exilic community could project their situation. In this case this tradition may not necessarily be historically reliable at all. But Brueggemann presents no definite evidence for this claim. On the other hand, he rightly emphasises the meaning which generations of displaced Jews and unfulfilled Christians have read into the idea of the wilderness journey.[108]

6.2.4.2. Theme of law

Predictably Brueggemann finds the theme of law in the Sinai narrative (Exod. 19-Num. 10:10): "The meeting at Sinai ... is the announcement of God's will for all aspects of Israel's personal and public life."[109] The Sinai pericope which is placed at the centre of

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[105]W. Brueggemann (1994), 678.

[106]W. Brueggemann (1994), 840.

[107]Brueggemann not only denies the historical reliability of the narratives of the wilderness sojourn but also minimises the function of the wilderness sojourn in the book of Exodus. W. Brueggemann (1994), 805.

[108]W. Brueggemann (1994), 805: "What may have been a transitional literary convenience ... has become a freighted theme that makes its own contribution to the larger theological claims of the completed tradition. The wilderness through which Israel traverses comes to be a metaphor for a zone of life not properly ordered and without the usual, reliable life-support systems. The several narrative episodes characteristically revolve around the need of Israel, the distrust of Israel (which becomes an attack on Moses' leadership), and the generous, life-sustaining gifts of Yahweh (cf. Ps. 78:19-20). Thus the theological issues regularly come to the fore, and the narrative exhibits little interest in geographical, historical details. Moreover, the wilderness metaphor serves as an effective cipher for exile, thus being crucial for the exilic and post-exilic community that brought the text to its final form."

[109]W. Brueggemann (1994), 679. Brueggemann finds three aspects of the proclamation of law in Exodus: first, "the giving of the law is situated in a frightening theophany" (19:16-25); second, the Ten Commandments are highlighted by the fact that they are the only commandments given directly from God's own mouth to Israel; third, the rest of the laws in Exodus (20:22-23:19; 34:11-26) are given by Moses, the mediator.

the book of Exodus is closely tied to the liberation theme of the exodus itself (see 19:4; 20:1).

> The upshot of Yahweh's command is twofold. First, and most important, a new community is created. In this event, a collection of erstwhile slaves ... is formed into a community based solely on allegiance to the command of Yahweh. Second, at the center of this unit (20:18-21) stands the authorization of Moses, who is to be the sole legitimator and go-between for Yahweh and Israel.[110]

6.2.4.3. Theme of the covenant

The third major theological theme is the making of the covenant, and it was through this that "a community was founded on nothing other than an act of faith and loyalty."[111] Brueggemann notes that the position of the renewed covenant in the present form (Exod. 32-34) after the nullification of the covenant of 19-24 serves a double function, showing that a "covenant rooted in fidelity must struggle with the reality of infidelity."

> This dynamic, on the one hand, permits the savage warning of the pre-exilic prophets that the relation will end because Israel persists in disobedience. On the other hand, this same dynamic of fidelity in the face of infidelity permits the daring assertion in the Exile that the God who "plucks up and tears down" will also "plant and build" a new covenant people (Jer. 1:10; 31:27-28). Thus the theme of covenant permits the terrible tension of judgment and hope already anticipated in 34:6-7 and asserted in pre-exilic prophets (e.g., Hosea), but worked out in the great prophets of the Exile--Jeremiah, Isaiah 40-55, and Ezekiel.[112]

6.2.4.4. Theme of the presence of God

Finally, Brueggemann finds the theme of the presence of God in the midst of Israel in a concrete institutional way in the second half of Exodus (chapters 25-40). "This text can be seen as a theological statement about God's willingness to be present in the midst of the community of Israel, under the custodial auspices of the priests."[113] As we mentioned above, Brueggemann follows the consensus of critical scholarship about the (post-)exilic P tradition and interprets all the events/stories in the book of Exodus against the background of the exilic and post-exilic-situations.

> The noun *tabernacle* (מִשְׁכָּן) derives from the verb שָׁכַן which means "to dwell" or "to sojourn." The verb suggests full presence, but it is not a stable guarantee of a permanent presence. The God who dwells here does so with freedom to leave. The tabernacle is a "portable temple," which is appropriate for a displaced people who are no longer in Jerusalem and are, therefore, in transit. Thus the proposed tabernacle guarantees a combination of presence and mobility.[114]

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[110]W. Brueggemann (1994), 830.
[111]W. Brueggemann (1994), 679.
[112]W. Brueggemann (1994), 679.
[113]W. Brueggemann (1994), 884.
[114]W. Brueggemann (1994), 884.

In this connection, Brueggemann seeks to find the *canonical* meaning of Exodus 25-40. As a canonical text, Exodus 25-40 is "a revealing, authorizing text for all the generations."

> In the end, the exodus scenario is not only a transformative "event," but also a settled, reliable, sustained "pattern" for God's presence. This text, then, is an act of daring imagination that invites erstwhile slaves to imagine a world in which God is palpably, visibly, wondrously present.[115]

6.2.4.5. Brueggemann on the golden calf incident

According to historical-critical scholars Exodus 32-34 is a continuation of chapters 19-24, and they read directly from 24:18 to 32:1, skipping Exodus 25-31. But Brueggemann thinks we must take the canonical arrangement seriously. He claims that the position of Exodus 32-34 is "crucially and peculiarly" placed between Exodus 25-31 and Exodus 35-40, coming after the command to build the tabernacle (Exod. 25-31) and before the implementation (Exod. 35-40). In this way Exodus 32-34 disrupts the expected sequence of command (25-31) and performance (35-40), and Brueggemann attributes the disruption of this sequence (command-disruption-implementation) to an important and intentional theological arrangement. Brueggemann calls this disruption a "paradigmatic break," comparable to the sequence "creation" (Gen. 1-2), "sin" (Gen. 3-8), and "new covenant" (Gen. 9:1-17).[116]

Brueggemann points out that this arrangement is not simply to describe "a moment of crisis in Israel's past, but make a remarkable theological statement that has continuing force and significance."[117] From Exodus 32-34 the reader learns that "Yahweh has a will, capacity, and yearning for the restoration of broken covenant with Israel."[118]

> In the assertion of 33:19, in the self-disclosure of 34:6-7a, and in the answer to the petition in 34:10, Israel receives an articulation of God's fierce, unwarranted graciousness, in the face of a profound act of disobedience.[119]

According to Brueggemann, Yahweh's unfettered graciousness is the most important theological point being made by the final editor(s) of the book of Exodus (for Brueggemann, the exilic redactors). Certainly a fresh gift of Yahweh's mercy was needed for those who were in exile as a result of their own violation and breaking of the

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[115]W. Brueggemann (1994), 884.
[116]W. Brueggemann (1994), 927.
[117]W. Brueggemann (1994), 927.
[118]W. Brueggemann (1994), 927.
[119]W. Brueggemann (1994), 927.

covenant. So he comments that "the final form of the text shows that Israel's future depends on Yahweh's inordinant [*sic*] fidelity."[120]

The account of Moses' second intercession is significant in two aspects, in Brueggemann's view. On the one hand, Yahweh's speech, "I will punish [פקד] them for their sin," shows that Yahweh's burning wrath is not assuaged. On the other hand, Yahweh's command to lead the people to the promised land and his promise of the protection by the angel shows that his guidance and protection are a separate matter from his punishment against those who were involved with the golden calf. "Even while the 'great sinners' stand under judgment, the Mosaic community (including the Levites) is still the carrier of the promise. Neither the judgment nor the promise is permitted to crowd out each other. God has preserved God's sovereign capacity to adjudicate and to make distinctions."[121] At the end of Exodus 32 only the Mosaic community is ready for the renewed covenant.

Exodus 32 presents a model of sin, punishment, intercession, and forgiveness. In the larger context of the book of Exodus, the violation of the covenant was the people's first act after their covenant oath (Exod. 24:2, 7). Corollary questions arise: "Is this the end?" and "Can this covenant be restored?" According to Brueggemann, the delicate ending of Exodus 32:33-35 (where there appears to be tension between punishment and promise) shows "Israel struggling with this unsolved question."[122]

According to Brueggemann, Exodus 32 is not simply to show the tension between Moses and Aaron, but to highlight the tension between Yahweh's "mercy that forgives and sovereignty that will not be mocked" by not allowing the people's sin unpunished. Exodus 32 permits no final or systematic solution. This very tension causes Moses to intercede desperately on behalf of the people.

The conclusion of Exodus 32 leaves Israel in acute crisis. Will Israel continue to be the people of God or not? Israel remains in a precarious position. Exodus 33 deals with the next steps. Because Israel as the people was born as a result of the covenant, the termination of the covenant implies that Israel is no longer the people of God. In Exodus 33 the crisis of the existence of Israel as the people is transposed into a crisis of God's presence. The existence of Israel as a people is shown to be conditional on God's presence with them. Exodus 33 is "the most thorough and sustained struggle with the problem of presence in the entire OT."[123] Throughout Exodus 33 there appears "a profound tension concerning Yahweh's way with Israel."[124] The initial, innocent

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[120]W. Brueggemann (1994), 927.
[121]W. Brueggemann (1994), 934.
[122]W. Brueggemann (1994), 934.
[123]W. Brueggemann (1994), 937.
[124]W. Brueggemann (1994), 937.

relationship between Yahweh and Israel has been lost, and from now on Yahweh's relationship with Israel is "characteristically qualified by the awareness that Israel has betrayed Yahweh. That is an irreversible reality that will endlessly haunt both parties."[125]

The memories of promise and liberation in Exodus 33:1-3 suggest that the calf incident has not disrupted Yahweh's purpose for Israel, and in spite of the calf incident, the text reiterates the promise of the land.[126] But the focus of Exodus 33 is on the awareness that "*survival* depends on *presence*."[127]

The account of the tent of meeting in Exodus 33:7-11 suggests that even after the sin with the golden calf, a meeting with God is possible for Israel. At the same time this episode "serves, embodies, and enhances Moses' authority. ... Here the people play a minimal, secondary role in the meeting. They are only observers, not participants."[128] Exodus 34 forms the conclusion of the episode of the golden calf: Israel is restored to be God's covenant partner by the graciousness and mercy of Yahweh, and the focus of the theophany in Exodus 34:1-10 is to make possible the existence of Israel as the people of God into the future.

It is interesting to note that the account of Moses' shining face (34:29-35) is located between the narrative on the glory at the mountain (24:15-28) and the narrative on the glory in the tabernacle (40:34-38). The larger context of the book of Exodus consciously shows the glory moves from mountain to tabernacle via Moses (34:29-35). "Moses is strategically indispensable for God's gift of glory to Israel."[129] On the other hand, Aaron and all the leaders of Israel, and the people are only passive recipients of what Moses has accomplished.[130]

Brueggemann's four major theological themes offer some interesting and insightful observations. However, we should point out that his handling of the text is too much dominated by his particular way of reading the text from an exilic or post-exilic viewpoint.

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[125]W. Brueggemann (1994), 937.

[126]W. Brueggemann (1994), 941: "The sin of Aaron has not disrupted the power of God's intentionality, any more than the flood disrupts God's fidelity to Noah (Gen 8:20-22; 9:1-17), any more than the exile interrupts Israel's covenant (Isa 49:14-15; 54:7-10; Jer 31:31-34)."

[127]W. Brueggemann (1994), 941.

[128]W. Brueggemann (1994), 938.

[129]W. Brueggemann (1994), 954.

[130]W. Brueggemann (1994), 954.

6.2.5. J. G. Janzen

According to J. G. Janzen[131] the major theological themes and messages of Exodus can be summarised as redemption, covenant and the presence of Yahweh.

In Janzen's view, Exodus is above all the greatest redemption story in the Old Testament. This great story covers roughly Exodus 1-18. Yahweh reveals himself through his faithfulness to the promises to the fathers, through his power shown in the signs and wonders and through his judgment against sin and evil. Yahweh's deliverance of Israel is rooted in the covenant relationship between Yahweh and his people, and in this connection, the stories about the patriarchs in Genesis 12-50 are not simply a narrative backdrop or prologue to the story of the exodus but crucial and foundational to the story. "When the later story threatens to lose its way or come to dead end, it is by appeal to God's relation to the ancestors that the later story is enabled to continue until it reaches its goal."[132]

In Exodus 1-2 the Israelites seem to be on their own under Egyptian oppression. In fact, Exodus 2:24 reads, "God heard their groaning, and God remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Janzen points out that at key points in the Exodus narrative, "the covenant with the ancestors is presented as the basis of God's dealing with the people of God." The loyal and compassionate God who disclosed himself to the patriarchs "gives life and nurture and promises space to live" and this provides "the continuing basis for hope in the face of all that threatens."[133]

Furthermore, the way the enslaved Israelites multiplied in Egypt is not a simple biological or an environmental phenomena, but a theological one. The "exceedingly" great multiplication of the Israelites is firstly a result of God's original blessing at creation (Gen. 1:28) and secondly a result of God's remembering of his promise to the fathers (Gen. 12:1-3; 15:5; 22:17; 26:4).

As other scholars have done, Janzen sees the presence of God as another prominent theme in the book of Exodus. God's motivation for the sanctuary is expressed in Exodus 25:8: "And have them make a sanctuary for me so that I may dwell among them," and in this context the tabernacle presents a picture of divine-human relationships.

Janzen points out another dimension to the significance of the tabernacle. In the ancient Near East, the sanctuary was often regarded as the cosmos in microcosm. In Exodus, however, "the tabernacle as a minicosmos is distinguished from the real world by

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[131]J. G. Janzen, *Exodus* (Philadelphia and Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997).
[132]J. G. Janzen (1997), 2-3.
[133]J. G. Janzen (1997), 27.

the fact that it is a holy place and the real world is not. ... So the tabernacle functions as a kind of virtual reality that, when we are in it, presents us with the cosmos as God sees it and would have it become."[134]

The tabernacle is presented as a new creation. The construction of the tabernacle is to be executed by those who filled with "the spirit of God, with skill [Heb. בְּחָכְמָה], intelligence and knowledge in all kinds of crafts" (31:3). "The Spirit of wisdom that initiated the creation of the cosmos (Gen. 1:2; compare Isa. 40:12-14, 27-31) is at work in the building of the tabernacle as a microcosmos."[135]

The tabernacle comprises three spaces: the outer court for the congregation, the "holy place" where only the priests may enter to minister, and the "most holy" or the "holy of holies" where God dwells and where the high priest can enter at certain times and under certain conditions (26:31-37). Janzen draws a parallel between this threefold division of the tabernacle and the boundaries that mark off Mount Sinai in Exodus 19. Mount Sinai is divided into three areas: one that the people may occupy, one into which Aaron and his fellow priests may enter, and one--the top of the mountain--that only Moses can approach. "As a transportable tent, the sanctuary will function as an ever-present symbol of the spatial character of the holiness of Mount Sinai."[136]

According to Janzen God's instructions for the tabernacle reach their climax in the sabbath law (31:12-17). The climactic positioning of the sabbath law is not surprising in the light of that the sanctuary is depicted as a microcosm of the whole of creation and that the six days of creation in Genesis 1 reach their climax in the seventh day. "The sabbath is the sign of God's covenant with Israel in a new world architecturally represented by the sanctuary."[137]

6.3. *Tendenz* and structure in Exodus

Exodus moves from redemption to worship, from the slavery to Pharaoh to the service of Yahweh, from Egypt, where they were forced to build the house for Pharaoh to the place where they voluntarily build Yahweh's sanctuary.

Scholars have presented us with a variety of different views on the structure of the book of Exodus. Childs suggests:[138]

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[134]J. G. Janzen (1997), 193.
[135]J. G. Janzen (1997), 194.
[136]J. G. Janzen (1997), 139.
[137]J. G. Janzen (1997), 222.
[138]B. S. Childs (1979), 170-71.

I. The exodus from Egypt (1:1-15:21)
II. The wilderness journey (15:22-18:27)
III. The covenant at Sinai and its ordinances (Exod. 19-40)

Durham suggests:

I. Israel in Egypt (1:1-13:16)
II. Israel in the wilderness (13:17-18:27)
III. Israel at Sinai (Exod. 19-40)

N. Sarna suggests:[139]

1. Oppression and liberation (1-15:21)
2. From the Sea of Reeds to Sinai (15:22-18)
3. Event at Sinai (Exod. 19-40)

Scholars differ about how to divide Exod. 1-18. The divisions of Childs and Sarna are identical, and that of Durham is similar. Childs thinks that the story of the exodus proper ends at 15:21 and regards 15:22 as the starting point of the wilderness journey, whereas Durham attributes the exodus proper to 1:1-13:16 and thinks that Israel's wilderness journey starts at 13:17.

In contrast, most scholars agree on the structure of Exodus 19-40. Usually they divide Exodus 19-40 into four sections.

1. The making of the covenant (19-24)
2. Instructions about the media of worship (25-31)
3. The golden calf incident (32-34)
4. Construction of the media of worship (35-40)

The book of Exodus cannot be understood in isolation from the preceding book and the following three books in the Pentateuch. Exodus provides the record of the fulfilment of God's promises and activities in history recorded in Genesis and provides the on-going themes for Leviticus-Deuteronomy.[140]

The structure of the book is inseparably related to the message of the book. The book of Exodus records God's plan to take Israel as his people by means of an act of deliverance and Israel's recognition of Yahweh as their God. As Merrill says, "the choice of Israel as a servant people was already implicit in the patriarchal covenant statements (Gen. 12:1-3; 15:13-21; 18:18; 22:18; 26:3-4; etc.), but not until the Exodus deliverance did the nation as such come into historical existence. The exodus, therefore, is of the

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[139]Nahum M. Sarna, *Exploring Exodus: The Heritage of Biblical Israel* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 6-7.
[140]Eugene Carpenter, "Theology of Exodus," in *NIDOTTE* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1996), 4: 605.

utmost theological importance as an act of God, the decisive moment in Israel's history, an event marking her transition from a people to a nation."[141] The book of Exodus can be summarised in short as the record of the birth of God's people and God's renewed encampment among his people,[142] and we may safely say that the purpose of the book is to educate the people of Israel about their origin and purpose.

Janzen makes an interesting observation on the structure of Exodus. His pondering of the shape of the book of Exodus begins with the question "why the content of chapters 25-31 is repeated so fully in chapters 35-40" whose repetition looks like "a spendthrift use of space and labor."[143] He thinks that this repetition is important to the message of the book. He first finds a pattern of B B1 from chapters 25-31 and 35-40 and, then, a pattern of A A1 from chapters 1-24 and 32-34. He finds two closely related stories of evil, plight, and deliverance from these two narratives (Exod. 1-24, 32-34). Then he divides the book of Exodus into two main sections (1-31, 32-40), each with two subsections (A and B, A1 and B1). In short, the book of Exodus as a whole displays the pattern A B A1 B1:[144]

A	1-24	Oppression, Redemption, Covenant
B	25-31	Planning a place for presence
A1	32-34	Sin, Redemption, Covenant
B1	35-40	Preparing a place for presence

According to this outline, the book of Exodus moves from God's deliverance (A A1) of the people from the evil and God's making a covenant relationship with them toward a place (B B1) in which "God and people may be present to one another."[145] Janzen thinks that this place is depicted as a new world or "new creation." In A, the evil can be identified with Israel's oppression under the Egyptians. In A1, it can be identified with Israel's sin in making and using the golden calf in worship.

Janzen draws the conclusion from this structure that "the different forms of evil in 1-24 and 32-34 are really different aspects of the same fundamental evil."[146] Janzen also thinks that God's name revealed in the burning bush ("I will be who I will be") is connected with "redemption as liberation," while the name of God revealed in Exodus 34 ("I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious, and I will show mercy to whom I will show mercy") is connected with "redemption as forgiveness."

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[141]E. H. Merrill, "A Theology of the Pentateuch," in *A Biblical Theology of the Old Testament*, ed. by R. B. Zuck (Chicago: Moody Press, 1991), 30-31.

[142]R. N. Whybray summarises the theme of the Pentateuch as "the story of the birth and adolescence of a nation." See his *Introduction to the Pentateuch* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), 9.

[143]J. G. Janzen, *Exodus* (1997), 8.

[144]J. G. Janzen (1997), 9.

[145]J. G. Janzen (1997), 9.

[146]J. G. Janzen (1997), 12.

> The fact that, in spite of the people's idolatry, the *instructions* for the tabernacle (B) are repeated so fully in the *preparation* of the tabernacle (B1), and that when it is finished God's glory fills it, means that when all due weight has been given to the sobering story of the idolatry, the last word is one of encouragement.[147]

In short, although the portions between the divisions A and A1 (chs. 1-24 and 32-34) are unevenly divided (cf. the divisions B and B1 in chs. 25-31 and 35-40), Janzen's structure helps us to compare different aspects of human evil (oppression and sin) and also the different ways in which God redeems Israel (liberation and forgiveness).

6.4. The *Tendenz* of the golden calf incident in Exodus 32-34

Although the theme of *divine presence* appears throughout the book of Exodus, this theme is most prominent in the latter part of the book (Exod. 25-40), where the golden calf episode appears. Although we can find various theological themes and messages in the golden calf episode (such as sin, judgment, forgiveness, covenant renewal) which are all familiar to us in the first part of the book, divine presence is the most important theme in the golden calf episode.

As we have seen, for Durham the theme of the presence of Yahweh pervades the whole of Exodus. It was while Moses was actually in the *presence* of Yahweh on the top of the mountain, that the people disregarded the commandments of Yahweh, and they blamed the *absence* of Moses, his representative. It was the people's doubts about the presence of Yahweh which caused them to make the golden calf: the people asked Aaron to make for them אֱלֹהִים who will go [הלך] before them (32:1).[148] As a consequence Yahweh withdrew his presence from the people (32:34; 33:2-3) but allowed only Moses to experience it (33:7-11). Moses' intercessions for Israel in Exodus 32-34 "establishes Yahweh's presence as the essential and indispensable basis of Israel's very existence as Yahweh's people."[149] Moses' long prayer in 33:12-23 is devoted to persuading Yahweh to allow his presence among the people.[150] In this regard Exodus 34 is no different, since it describes in detail the theophany (34:5-9), its preparation (34:1-4), and its sequel (34:10-35), the covenant renewal and Moses' shining face.[151]

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[147]J. G. Janzen (1997), 12.

[148]J. I. Durham (1987), xx. The expression "gods who will go before us" clearly related with the motif of presence, but not that of divine presence but that of false divine presence.

[149]J. I. Durham (1987), xxii.

[150]B. S. Childs (1974), 558, 582, also regards the presence of God as the central theme of Exodus 33 and entitles the heading of Exodus 33 "God's presence endangered."

[151]Moses' shining face results from his stay on the mountain in the presence of Yahweh.

The golden calf episode can be understood as fulfilling various theological purposes. Firstly as a *warning against idolatry*, and this has been done by describing the incident concretely, including by direct quotations from the speakers. The people's absurd demand of "אֱלֹהִים who will go [הלך] before us" is quoted twice.[152] The people's abominable and blasphemous acclamation before the calf, "these are your אֱלֹהִים who brought you up out of Egypt," is quoted twice.[153] The people's illegitimate worship and sacrifice is baldly described. After their illegitimate burnt offerings and fellowship offering the people sit down for revelry and get up for orgy (32:6).

The thorough destruction of the calf and the people's drinking of water with the remains of the calf in it, demonstrate the seriousness of the people's sin. Moses' accusation of Aaron for leading them into a "great sin" (32:21), with the frequent use of "a great sin" and the verb "sin," also highlights the seriousness of the people's making of the calf. The atrocious punishment executed by the Levites, also serves as a warning about the seriousness of their sin and gives a strong lesson against the idolatry.

The commandments (34:11-28, esp. vv. 11-17) given after the renewal of the covenant mainly focus on Israel's relation to God in worship. This exclusive focus is given because of the sin of the calf which was a violation against the first two commandments of the Decalogue.

The golden calf incident emphasises *the grace and mercy of Yahweh.* Yahweh is angry and announces judgment; but he assuages his anger and eventually concedes the punishment because of Moses' appeal to Yahweh's mercy and faithfulness. The tension between Yahweh's righteous judgment and forgiveness all the more stresses and contrasts his mercy and grace.

Though the grace and mercy of Yahweh is very much highlighted through the golden calf episode, this never affects *the holiness of Yahweh.* Though Yahweh allows an angel to drive out the Canaanites, he refuses to go with the people because they are a stiff-necked people, and he might destroy them on the way (33:3).

Yahweh relents (32:14) because Moses intercedes with Yahweh on behalf of the people appealing mostly to *the faithfulness of Yahweh* to the promise he made to the fathers.

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[152]Once by the people (32:1) and the second time by Aaron (32:23). It should be noted that this phrase does not appear in Deut. 9-10.

[153]Once by the people (32:4) and the second time by Yahweh himself (32:8b). It should also be noted that this phrase does not appear in Deut. 9-10.

6.5. The *Tendenz* of the golden calf incident in Deuteronomy: Introduction

The golden calf incident, as a self-contained story, is about sin and forgiveness: the people break the covenant by making a golden calf, they face a total destruction by angry Yahweh and after a long series of intercessions by Moses the covenant is renewed. The versions of the golden calf incident in Exodus and Deuteronomy have many theological lessons in common. Both accounts, for example, portray the people's obstinate nature, Yahweh's graciousness and compassion, Yahweh's faithfulness, Moses' right leadership, Aaron's false leadership and so on. Nevertheless the two versions do not deliver exactly the same theological message. Each particular account is affected by the overall purpose and theological *Tendenz* of the book in which the episode is found and the way the account is placed within each book. Our concern here is to examine what are the distinctive messages of this particular episode in the context of each book.

6.6. A review of studies of the *Tendenz* of the Deuteronomy account of the golden calf incident

The episode of the golden calf cannot be read in isolation from the rest of each book. The book of Exodus was written with a certain purpose. So was Deuteronomy, and if the two books have particular purposes, we must assume that their presentations of the episode of the golden calf is influenced by the purpose of each book. With regard to Deuteronomy, we note, with Olson, that in spite of the abundant literature on the book of Deuteronomy, there is "a relative scarcity of theological readings of Deuteronomy that take seriously the full structure and movement of the book as a whole from beginning to end."[154] In this study we are going to examine the theological *Tendenz* by carrying out a synchronic and theological reading of the final form of the book.[155]

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[154]D. T. Olson, *Deuteronomy and the Death of Moses: A Theological Reading*, OBT (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 1.

[155]For the advocacy of the synchronic theological reading of the book as a whole, see also P. A. Barker, *Faithless Israel, Faithful Yahweh in Deuteronomy*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (C&GCHE/University of Bristol, 1995), 3-5; D. J. McCarthy, "The Wrath of Yahweh and the Structural Unity of the Deuteronomistic History" (1974), 99; R. W. L. Moberly, *At the Mountain of God* (1983), 15-43; T. A. Lenchak, "*Choose Life!*" (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1993), 40-41; R. Rendtorff, *Canon and Theology: Overtures to an Old Testament Theology* (1993a), 25-30; idem, "The Paradigm is changing" (1993b), 34-53, esp. 49-53.

6.6.1. S. R. Driver

It is remarkable that some of the most famous works on Deuteronomy have hardly anything to say about the theological *Tendenz* of the book. For example, according to Driver, the golden calf episode in Deuteronomy 9-10 is given in the form of a retrospect based on the JE narrative and freely rearranged and written in the writer's customary style.[156] Driver attributes the differences between the two versions of the episode to the wish of the writer of Deuteronomy to apply the description of one incident to another somewhat different incident or situation.[157] He mentions some of the elements which are unique to Deuteronomy but instead of giving theological explanations he attributes them either to "the characteristic style" of Deuteronomy,[158] to different sources or redactions,[159] or to subsequent insertions,[160] the reason for which he leaves unexplained. We find only one hint of a theological explanation of the differences between the two accounts: Driver thinks the chronological change in the sequence in Moses' intercessions in Deuteronomy 9:18-20 and the destruction of the calf in 9:21 is to illustrate the people's indebtedness to the merciful forbearance of Yahweh.[161]

6.6.2. G. von Rad

According to von Rad, the historical narratives in Deuteronomy 1-3 and 9-10 are the product of "the method of preaching in later Israel."[162] In particular he notes that in Deuteronomy 9:7-10:11 Moses narrates the incident in the first person.[163] Von Rad believes that extensive interpolations were made toward the end of the account in Deuteronomy 9-10 and that the way the text alternates between singular and plural modes of address indicates that the text underwent a complicated development before reaching its present form.

Von Rad thinks the golden calf episode in Deuteronomy has a quite definite purpose, to teach the people of Israel how to face their God in the light of their history of rebelliousness, so that they can become conscious of their currently threatening situation.[164] The episode in Deuteronomy "is presented from Moses' point of view, and his experiences in all that has happened are placed in the foreground."[165] He notes that

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[156]S. R. Driver (1902), 112.

[157]For e.g., Driver compares Moses' fasting in 9:9 with that in Exod. 34:28; Moses' intercession with those in Exod. 34:9; 32:11-13 and Num. 14:16. S. R. Driver (1902), 113, 116.

[158]S. R. Driver (1902), 114, 115.

[159]S. R. Driver (1902), 117-18. See his explanation of the references to the ark in Deut. 10:1-5.

[160]S. R. Driver (1902), 118-20. See his discussion on Deut. 10:6-7.

[161]S. R. Driver (1902), 115.

[162]G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy* (1966), 77.

[163]Deut. 1-3 shows exactly the same form-critical characteristics. G. von Rad (1966), 77.

[164]G. von Rad (1966: 77) notes the instructive and didactic trend of the description in 9:7: "Remember and do not forget."

[165]G. von Rad (1966), 78.

the account in Deuteronomy does not strictly follow in chronological order. Von Rad criticises that Moses' intercessory prayer (9:18-20) is unskilfully placed between the breaking of the tablets and the destruction of the calf. Von Rad attributes the references to the rebellion in Deuteronomy 9:22-24 and the account in 10:1-9 to later insertions which interrupt the narrative. Apart from his general observations, his discussion is not particularly helpful if we wish to explain in detail the differences in the two accounts in Exodus and Deuteronomy.

Though von Rad thinks the Deuteronomy narrative is the product of methods of teaching in later Israel, his discussion of that teaching is too general, so that he does not show what the text specifically contributes to Israel's understanding of her wilderness experiences.

6.6.3. P. C. Craigie

In Craigie's view the hortatory style of Deuteronomy is designed to move Israel to obedience and commitment to Yahweh. In his preaching, Moses speaks the word of God and aims to persuade the people to love God and obey his law, and also to warn them of the consequences of falling away from the intimacy of the covenant relationship.[166]

In Deuteronomy the history is not only used to evoke memories of the past but also to produce vision and consideration of the future.[167] The past portrays the faithfulness of God and reminds the people of their unfaithfulness. It, therefore, impresses upon them more urgently "the need for present commitment in order that the future of the relationship might be secured."[168] The aim of the Deuteronomy text is to show that the plan and promise of God are contingent upon the obedience and commitment of the Israelites to their God.

Craigie thinks the focal point of Deuteronomy 9 is the stubbornness of Israel: "the people had been stubborn in the past, but they must learn to yield to the graciousness of God."[169] Anticipating the imminent conquest of the land (9:1-3), Moses reminds the people that the conquest of the land will be due to God's graciousness and judgment not to any righteousness of their own (9:4-6), and Moses illustrates the stubbornness of the people by recalling the events at Horeb (9:7-21) and other rebellions (9:22-24). After Moses' prayer on behalf of the people (9:25-29), Deuteronomy 10 provides the conclusion of Moses' address.

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[166]P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (1976), 39.

[167]P. C. Craigie (1976), 40: "memory of God's past course of action and anticipation of his future course of action provide the framework for the present commitment to God in the renewal of the covenant."

[168]P. C. Craigie (1976), 40.

[169]P. C. Craigie (1976), 192.

Craigie takes the present form of the text seriously and his exegesis is full of insight, but he hardly carries out a comparison of the Deuteronomy account with the one in Exodus and thus does not deal with the differences between them.

6.6.4. A. D. H. Mayes

Mayes is much concerned with source-critical issues. He seeks the pre-history of the present form of the text. Mayes understands that the purpose of the golden calf episode in Deuteronomy is to condemn Jeroboam who erected golden calves in Bethel and Dan.[170] Thus he spends much space figuring out whether a given passage is original-deuteronomic or a deuteronomistic redaction, and not surprisingly he gives little attention to the final form of the text. Mayes hardly compares the two versions in Deuteronomy and Exodus.

6.6.5. C. J. H. Wright

Wright notes that the golden calf episode in Deuteronomy appears in the context of a series of warnings against false assumptions the people of Israel might have. In Deuteronomy 9 Moses warns against any self-righteousness when looking for an interpretation of any military conflict Israel was involved in.[171]

The golden calf episode in Deuteronomy summarises many of the themes which had already appeared. With the seemingly impossible task ahead, in view of the spies incident (Num. 13:28, 32-33; Deut. 1:28), Moses seeks to strengthen the faith of the Israelites in Yahweh (see Deut. 9:1-3).

Deuteronomy 9:4-6 makes the point which has been already made more strongly, that Israel owed everything to Yahweh. The land was not theirs by right but was a gift from Yahweh. Wright comments, "They could stake no claim on divine favors in advance, not could they retrospectively explain any success and prosperity that came their way as the due reward for their righteousness."[172]

Moses seeks to disallow any credit the people might think they could claim after the conquest of the land by saying "our victory is due to our righteousness and the wickedness of the nations" (9:4). Moses negates the first part ("not because of your righteousness or your integrity"), but partly he does affirm the second part ("because of the wickedness of these nations") (9:5). The real reason for the successful conquest of

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[170]A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy* (1979), 199-200.

[171]C. J. H. Wright, *Deuteronomy* (1996), 130. The first warning is "any idea of national chauvinism arising from Israel's election (7:6-10)." The second one is any self-sufficiency arising from their future prosperity (8:17f.).

[172]C. J. H. Wright (1996), 131.

the land should be attributed to Yahweh himself who keeps his own promise, "to accomplish what he swore to your fathers" (9:5b) in spite of the people's stiff-necked nature (9:6). It was only by God's grace that Israel would conquer the land and not be destroyed like the inhabitants of the land.

Theologically, these verses stand with the rest of Deuteronomy in affirming divine grace and in denying any human merit for the fulfilment of God's promises. In spite of Israel's many privileges and blessings compared with the nations, there is no fundamental difference between Israel and the nations when it comes to matters of moral standing before God.[173] But the lengthy recollection of Israel's apostasy at Horeb and the list of other rebellious acts demonstrate that Deuteronomy is concerned more with Israel's wickedness than the wickedness of the nations.

Wright thinks the differences between the golden calf incident recollected in 9:9-10:11 and that in Exodus 32-34 are "almost certainly due to the nature of this [i.e., Deuteronomy] account as a recollection aimed at highlighting the significant theological point of the story, rather than to a confusion of sources and a complex redactional history."[174] He, however, does not spell out in any detail what the theological point is.

The reference to Moses' intercession on behalf of Aaron (9:20) is unique to the Deuteronomic account, and Wright thinks that this is meant to show that there can be no grounds for the people to claim their own righteousness if Israel's first high priest only escaped from Yahweh's anger and from the danger of being destroyed on account of Moses' specific intercession.[175]

The renewed covenant (10:1-5) and the resumed journey (10:6-11) are the outcome of Moses' intercession. When compared with Exodus 34, the recollection of the event in 10:1-5 is summary and general rather than sequentially precise. But, according to Wright, the record of Israel's itinerary in 10:6-7, which seems to have little relation to the preceding narrative, is theologically very important, for the following reasons:

i) "This is the narrator's way of saying that Moses' intercession for Israel was manifestly successful. The Israelites not only survived but they resumed their journey toward the promised land."[176]

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[173]C. J. H. Wright (1996), 131-32; cf. P. Miller, *Deuteronomy* (1990), 121ff.
[174]C. J. H. Wright (1996), 135-36.
[175]C. J. H. Wright (1996), 137.
[176]C. J. H. Wright (1996), 141.

ii) The reference to the death of Aaron and Eleazar's succeeding him to the high priesthood make clear that Moses' intercession on Aaron's behalf (9:20) was successful in the long term.

iii) The brief summary of the duties of the Levites establishes that "all the gifts of God mediated through the Levites are still intact: the ark itself, the proper service of God, and the blessing of the people in Yahweh's name."[177]

iv) Regarding Deuteronomy 10:10-11, "The whole section ends, as it began in 9:1 with the onward movement of the people into the land of promise. In the light of all that has come between the beginning and the end of the section, this should be a chastened people about to move into the land; a people with every confidence in their God, but with no illusions about themselves."[178]

Wright correctly understands that the differences between the account of the golden calf in Deuteronomy and that in Exodus are due to Deuteronomy's specific intention to highlight the significant theological message. He provides some good reasons why Deuteronomy 10 differs from Exodus 34 but does not deal with the the differences between the parallel in Deuteronomy 9 and Exodus 32.

Besides the commentaries we have reviewed above, there are other prominent commentaries on Deuteronomy that need to be mentioned. J. A. Thompson deals with some important critical issues and offers good explanations from an evangelical perspective.[179] However, his commentary does not deal with specifically the differences between the accounts in Deuteronomy and Exodus-Numbers. Thus his commentary is not very helpful for our study. In this regard, the commentaries of Christensen and Weinfeld are similar.[180] Weinfeld tries to explain the differences between the accounts in Deuteronomy and Exodus-Numbers mainly from a literary viewpoint, i.e., in terms of different redactions. Christensen's commentary is obsessed too much with poetic styles and does deal with properly the theological significance of the book. So we shall not deal with these commentaries in our study of theological *Tendenz*.

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[177]C. J. H. Wright (1996), 141.
[178]C. J. H. Wright (1996), 141.
[179]J. A. Thompson, *Deuteronomy* (Leicester and Downers Grove: Inter-Varsity Press, 1974).
[180]D. L. Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (Dallas: Word Books, 1991); M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1-11* (New York: Doubleday, 1991).

6.7. Deuteronomy as teaching material

This review of some well-known commentaries on Deuteronomy suggests that only Wright's begins to address the distinctive features of Deuteronomy 9-10 from a theological perspective. In this last main section we hope to develop his theological insights further.

One of the most prominent characteristics in Deuteronomy is its pedagogical tendency. In an earlier chapter we identified the genre of Deuteronomy as sermon. The teaching function is evident in most sermons, and as Olson remarks, the present form of Deuteronomy is clearly intended "as a foundational and ongoing teaching document necessitated by the reality of human death and the need to pass the faith on to another generation."[181] Olson identifies the form, or genre, of Deuteronomy as *torah* --hardly controversial since Deuteronomy refers to itself as *torah*, and even as "this book of the *torah*" in 29:20; 30:10; 31:26.[182] Olson translates this as a program of "catechesis."

Whether we define the genre of Deuteronomy as sermon or as *torah*, the teaching elements in the book of Deuteronomy cannot be denied. To achieve its pedagogical aim Deuteronomy uses various forms: narratives, commandments, statutes and ordinances, speeches, covenant, song, blessing, etc.

6.7.1. Teaching techniques in Deuteronomy

The pedagogical tendency is most visible in the parenetical section, Deuteronomy 1-11. In most of Deuteronomy 1-11 Moses is retelling the history of Israel and teaching the people who are on the verge of the promised land. The pedagogical tendency is well illustrated, for example, in Deuteronomy 4 where the word "teach" [למר] occurs four times (4:1, 5, 11, 14). The references to "children and children's children" [לְבָנֶיךָ וּלְבְנֵי בָנִים, בָּנֶיךָ] (4:9, 25), "your ancestors" [אֲבֹתֶיךָ, אֲבֹתֵיכֶם] (4:1, 31, 37), and "your descendants after you" [וּלְבָנֶיךָ אַחֲרֶיךָ] (4:30) stress the intergenerational dimension of the teaching process.[183]

Another evidence of the sermon-like and teaching character of Deuteronomy is the frequent use of the imperative, for example in the episode of the golden calf, we find "Hear, Israel" (9:1) and later "Remember and do not forget" (9:7).

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[181] D. T. Olson (1994), 6.
[182] See Deut. 1:5; 4:8, 44; 17:18-19; 27:3, 8, 26; 28:58, 61; 29:28; 31:9, 11, 12, 24; 32:46.
[183] D. T. Olson (1994), 37.

A further feature of Deuteronomy is the use of so-called "motive clauses." The frequent appearance of these in the section on statutes and ordinances, shows how Deuteronomy uses them to achieve this goal. The promise of the "land sworn to your fathers," for example, is a recurring theme in Deuteronomy,[184] and this is presented as something to motivate them in accepting what Moses is telling them. Yahweh's promise is used as evidence to encourage Israel to enter and conquer the land.

The reverse side of this use of motivation is an emphasis on the cost of failure. Deuteronomy 1:39-46, for example, shows that Israel's disobedience at Kadesh Barnea cost them forty years wandering in the wilderness. In fact the failure of the people was to cost Moses himself dearly when Yahweh denied Moses the right to enter the land because of the people (3:26).

In general terms we may say that the purpose of the teaching material in Deuteronomy is to evoke the people's obedience to and trust in Yahweh by way of making a sharp contrast between Yahweh's faithfulness and Israel's faithlessness. Whereas Israel is described in Deuteronomy as rebellious, disobedient, and unfaithful to Yahweh's commandments, Yahweh is described throughout Deuteronomy as gracious and faithful to the promises he has made to the patriarchs.[185] We shall now examine these issues in detail.

The sharp contrast between Yahweh's faithfulness and Israel's faithlessness can be seen many times in Deuteronomy 1-11, and the spies incident (Deut. 1:9-18) is a clear example of how the failure of the people is emphasized. In the spies narrative in Numbers 13 the spies bring back a negative report to the people (Num. 13:29, 31-33) and express fear of the inhabitants of the land. However, in the retelling of the same incident in Deuteronomy 1:19-46 the spies bring back a positive report (1:25). In this way Deuteronomy stresses the whole people's failure to trust Yahweh rather than attributing the people's failure to a small number of spies.

An example of the emphasis on Yahweh's faithfulness can be seen in the account of the appointment of leaders in Deuteronomy 1:9-18. This section is often regarded as an interruption, but once we grasp the underlying theme of Yahweh's promise we understand why Moses refers to the appointment of leaders.[186] Yahweh's faithfulness to his promises of descendants is illustrated in Deuteronomy 1:10-11, where the present numbers of the people "as the stars of heaven for multitude" is seen as the fulfilment of

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[184]E.g. Deut. 1:8, 35; 6:10, 18, 23; 7:13; 8:1; 9:5; 10:11; 11:9, 21; etc.

[185]P. A. Barker, *Faithless Israel, Faithful Yahweh in Deuteronomy* (1995). Barker examines the three sections in Deuteronomy: chapters 1-3 (focusing on the spies incident), 8-10 (focusing on the golden calf episode) and 29-30 (focusing on the expectation of future curses in chapter 29). In his study of how Deuteronomy perceives Israel's ability to keep the covenant requirements, Barker argues that the grace of Yahweh solely guarantees the future of Israel, despite their sin, without overriding human responsibility.

[186]P. A. Barker (1995), 38-39.

an earlier promise. Just as God has been faithful in fulfilling this part of his covenant promises to Abraham, so he will fulfil the rest of his promise (the land) as well. Pointing out the way Yahweh fulfils his promises, Moses encourages Israel to trust in Yahweh.

A further example of Yahweh's faithfulness can be seen in the accounts of Israel's encounter with Edom, Moab, and Ammon in Deuteronomy 2:1-25. The description of the giant people who once lived in the lands of Moab and Ammon, "a people strong and numerous, and as tall as Anakites," (2:10, 21) is used to remind the people of Yahweh's power, in view of the comment in Deuteronomy 1:28 that the people were afraid of the Anakites, a people "stronger and taller than they." The fact that the giving of the land to Edom, Moab, and Ammon had been closely linked with the promises of Yahweh (2:5, 9, 19) is meant to encourage Israel. Yahweh, who has defeated giants for the people of Moab and Ammon according to his promise, can do the same for Israel as he has promised to them.[187]

6.7.2. The golden calf incident as teaching material

6.7.2.1. The passage preceding the golden calf incident (9:1-6)

The introduction to the golden calf episode (9:1-6) teaches two lessons: one relating to events before the conquest (9:1-3), the other after the conquest (9:4-6). The lesson before the conquest is a call for trust in Yahweh. The weakness of Israel is dramatically contrasted with the strength of the Canaanites. First of all Moses alludes to the spies incident, and his vivid description of the Canaanites as more populous and stronger than Israel (cf. also 7:1) and their cities with sky-high walls is derived from the report brought back to Moses from the spies almost forty years earlier (Num. 13:28; cf. Deut. 1:28). Moses, however, stresses that the people should know that both their strength and their hope for victory lie in Yahweh and in his promises. The third person pronoun הוא occurs three times to emphasise the power of Yahweh in Deuteronomy 9:3:

it is he who is crossing over before you as a consuming fire	הוּא־הָעֹבֵר לְפָנֶיךָ אֵשׁ אֹכְלָה
it is he who will destroy them	הוּא יַשְׁמִידָם
it is he who will subdue them before you	וְהוּא יַכְנִיעֵם לְפָנֶיךָ

But in spite of the strong emphasis on the role of Yahweh in the conquest of the land, the people are not to be mere bystanders or passive recipients of what Yahweh gives. The people must participate in the work of Yahweh. After the threefold emphasis of Yahweh's role, it is said: "you will drive them out and annihilate them quickly as Yahweh has promised you" (Deut. 9:3).

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[187]P. A. Barker (1995), 54-55.

The urgent call, שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל, in 9:1 explicitly alludes to the Shema of Deuteronomy 6:4-5, and reminds us of the striking contrast between the first most important commandment and the way the people broke this fundamental commandment as related in the account of the golden calf which follows.[188]

The lesson after the conquest (9:4-6) is a warning against self-righteousness. The people's participation in the conquest and their eventual victory must be properly understood. The people are three times warned that the gift of the land should not be regarded as a reward for Israel's righteousness. Firstly, "it is not because of your righteousness ... but it is because of the wickedness of these nations" (9:4). The expelling of the Canaanites from the land was not an arbitrary divine act but an act of judgment by a just God. Secondly, "it is ... in order to confirm the word which Yahweh promised by oath to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob" (9:5). The conquest of the land was an essential part of the promises made to the patriarchs. Genesis 15:6 also relates the gift of the land to the divine judgment on the inhabitants of the land, where the fulfilment of the promise is linked with the sins of the Amorites (Gen. 15:16).[189] Thirdly, Moses gives the most compelling reason why the gift of the land should not be regarded as a result of their righteousness: "... for you are a stiff-necked people" (9:6). As Craigie notes, "if the gift of the land was to be contingent upon the righteousness of the people, it was a gift that would never be received."[190] The people's stubbornness highlights the graciousness of Yahweh in the gift of the land.

Barker notes that the statement "you are a stiff-necked people" in 9:6 is not only a description of Israel's past but also represents the present nature of the people.[191] Barker comments that Israel's sinful nature demonstrates that Israel's future is solely grounded in God's mercy.

6.7.2.2. The golden calf incident as an illustration

The golden calf follows what Moses has just been saying specifically to illustrate the second lesson given in its introduction, i.e., the unfaithfulness of the people and eventually the graciousness of God.

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[188]P. A. Barker (1995), 92, 108. Deuteronomy denounces that "Israel had broken the *Hauptgebot*. Nothing could be more serious."

[189]N. Lohfink (1963), 20; P. A. Barker (1995), 92.

[190]P. C. Craigie (1976), 193.

[191]P. A. Barker (1995), 95. See also G. von Rad, *Deuteronomy* (1966), 74. Barker argues that the covenant at Moab which anticipates the failure of Israel is renewed with this supposition. Then he suggests the renewal of the covenant is a further demonstration of Yahweh's grace and faithfulness which is not annulled by Israel's failure. Cf. also the use of the phrase, "stiff-necked people" in Exod. 32:9; 34:9 and the interpretation of R. W. L. Moberly (1983), 89-93; R. Rendtorff (1989), 389-90. Though Israel remains stiff-necked in Exodus 34:9, Yahweh makes a covenant with Israel in 34:10. Cf. also Gen. 6:5; 8:21.

The place where the apostasy took place, Horeb, highlights all the more the people's stubbornness, because the people were not even faithful at the place of the covenant-making. The story of how the people made the golden calf demonstrates to Moses's listeners that the gift of the land could not be a reward for righteous behaviour. The gift of the land was only a gift of God's graciousness.

Craigie points out the parallel between Horeb and the people's critical situation on the plains of Moab. The recollection of events at Horeb was "also significant in that the renewal ceremony in Moab was a renewal of that first great forming of the covenant." He notes that "if the people had been guilty of provoking God even in the midst of the awe-inspiring events associated with Horeb, then the danger was no less present on the plains of Moab."[192]

Deuteronomy 9:9 reminds the people that their apostasy took place while Moses was fasting on the mountain while he received the stone tablets of the covenant (9:9). While it is true that the nature of Moses' fast emphasises his complete dependence upon God, the time he spent fasting cannot have been long enough for the people to forget the covenant they had just ratified. It was just a period during which Moses was able to survive without eating and drinking at all.

6.7.2.3. Literary techniques reinforcing the message

1) The use of inclusio

Deuteronomy 9:7-24 provides the evidence for the persistence of Israel's rebelliousness. Deuteronomy 9:7 and 9:24 create a frame around the golden calf story with the expression "you have been rebellious against Yahweh." This makes the way the story should be understood unmistakable. The golden calf incident is not just a story told for story's sake.[193]

Deuteronomy 9:8-21 is a demonstration of the statement made in 9:7b: "From the day you left Egypt until you arrived here, you have been rebellious against Yahweh." Other rebellious incidents at Taberah, Massah, Kibroth Hattaavah, and Kadesh Barnea in 9:22-24 show that the golden calf was not an isolated event but characteristic of Israel's entire history.[194] As Olson says, the golden calf incident is cited as "symptomatic of Israel's continual disobedience."[195] According to Barker, "Deuteronomy supposes that

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[192]P. C. Craigie (1976), 194.

[193]"The history of Israel's stubborn rebellion against God thus emphasized all the more the graciousness of God. But for God's grace in the past, they would not even be standing in the plains of Moab, renewing their covenant with God." P. C. Craigie (1976), 197.

[194]Deut. 9:22-24 lists various places where Israel sinned but not in chronological order.

[195]D. T. Olson (1994), 57.

Israel has a propensity to sin, based on its past record. Its history is not of occasional blemishes amidst an otherwise good record. Israel's sin is persistent and deep-seated."[196]

The references to "your people" [עַמְּךָ], "your inheritance" [נַחֲלָתְךָ], and "whom you brought out" [אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתָ] in verses 26 an 29 form an *inclusio* around Moses' prayer (9:26-29). Deuteronomy 9:26b and 9:29 read:

אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת עַמְּךָ וְנַחֲלָתְךָ
אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ בְגָדְלֶךָ
אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם בְּיָד חֲזָקָה

וְהֵם עַמְּךָ וְנַחֲלָתֶךָ
אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ בְּכֹחֲךָ הַגָּדֹל וּבִזְרֹעֲךָ הַנְּטוּיָה

In another instance of framing, both Peckham and Barker note that the prayers of Moses in 9:17-20 are framed by the word "sin" in verses 16 and 21.[197]

2) Changes of chronological sequence

Kalland points out that Deuteronomy 9:15-24 is not arranged "in strict chronological order but rather in an order that emphasizes the people's wrongdoing."[198] Though Moses' prayer is anticipated after Yahweh's speech in 9:14 and even mentioned in 9:18-21, the introduction of the content of Moses' prayer, which signals the way of restoration, is deliberately delayed until the seriousness of the people's sin has been fully demonstrated.

3) The use of vocabulary

Unlike Exodus, Deuteronomy uses the expression "tablets of the covenant" in 9:9, 11, 15. The rebelliousness of the people (vv. 12, 16) is further highlighted by the contrast with Moses' obedience in response to Yahweh.[199]

The references to Yahweh's "fierce anger" illustrates the seriousness of the people's sin (9:7, 8, 14, 19, 20, 22, 25). Barker understands the mention of the mountain ablaze with fire in 9:15 as an allusion to the heat of Yahweh's anger.[200] This reminds us of the holiness of Yahweh which is incompatible with the terrible sin of the people. This expression also seems to be used as a reminder that the covenant was still in the process of being made.

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[196]P. A. Barker (1995), 103.
[197]B. Peckham, "The Composition of Deuteronomy 9:1-10:11" (1975), 35; P. A. Barker (1995), 105.
[198]E. S. Kalland (1992), 80.
[199]S. Boorer, *The Promise of the Land as Oath* (1992), 295.
[200]P. A. Barker (1995), 102.

Because of Deuteronomy's insistence on the sinfulness of the people's actions, the writer is forced to vary his vocabulary in 9:27b, for instance, we get "stubbornness" [קְשִׁי], "wickedness" [רֶשַׁע], and "sin" [חַטָּאת].[201]

The use of "to you" [עִמָּכֶם/אֲלֵיכֶם] assumes that the people who stood on the plains of Moab are the same people who were present at Horeb. In fact when Moses says "Yahweh proclaimed to you [עִמָּכֶם/אֲלֵיכֶם] on the mountain out of the fire on the day of the assembly" (9:10; 10:4) not only links the exodus generation with the current generation, but the implication is that the people heard the commandments and thus, as Barker says, "their rebellion is not an act of ignorance but one of culpability."[202]

In his prayer Moses takes the issue with Yahweh's disavowal of the ownership over Israel (see 9:12). Moses now prays to Yahweh not to destroy [שׁחת] the people because they are Yahweh's. Moses uses various interesting possessive constructions to persuade Yahweh that Israel does not belong to Moses himself but to Yahweh: "*your* people" [עַמְּךָ], "*your* inheritance" [נַחֲלָתְךָ], "whom *you* redeemed" [אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ], and "whom *you* brought out" [אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתָ]. Deuteronomy 9:26b reads:

אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אַל־תַּשְׁחֵת עַמְּךָ וְנַחֲלָתְךָ
אֲשֶׁר פָּדִיתָ בִגְדֻלָּךְ
אֲשֶׁר־הוֹצֵאתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם בְּיָד חֲזָקָה

6.7.2.4. The interpretative element in Deuteronomy

There are many examples of Deuteronomy inserting an interpretative comment into the story. In Exodus 32:19, for instance, Moses sees the calf and the people dancing, whereas in the parallel in Deuteronomy 9:16 he sees that the people have sinned. A lengthy theological comment precedes Moses' breaking of the tablet:

... וְאֶרְאֶה וְהִנֵּה חֲטָאתֶם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם עֲשִׂיתֶם לָכֶם עֵגֶל מַסֵּכָה.[203]

Moses' lengthy theological comment not only provides the reason for Moses' spontaneous reaction of anger, but also explains the violence of Moses' reaction in breaking the tablets.

In Exodus 32:20 Moses simply took the calf, whereas the interpretative tendency of Deuteronomy is again visible in 9:21: וְאֶת־חַטַּאתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר־עֲשִׂיתֶם אֶת־הָעֵגֶל לָקַחְתִּי (lit.,

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[201]Deuteronomy highlights the faithfulness of Yahweh to his promises to the patriarchs as the ground of forgiveness (see Deut. 9:27a). J. G. Millar (1995: 238) understands the lack of repentance here as a recognition that Yahweh's standards are too high: "[T]he Deuteronomist excludes references to forgiveness because it is his view that Israel is doomed from the start." P. A. Barker (1995: 111) thinks that Millar reads too much into this.

[202]P. A. Barker (1995), 105.

[203]B. Peckham (1975), 30: "It is the sin which is crucial: it is mentioned first; it is preceded by וְהִנֵּה which is a linguistic indicator or factuality and sufficient evidence."

"your sinful thing which you made, the calf I took"). In Deuteronomy 9:21 "the sinful thing" [חַטַּאתְכֶם] is mentioned first before referring to the calf.

If we wonder why Yahweh forgives sinful Israel, Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 9:26-29 provides the reason why. Israel will survive from the golden calf failure because of Yahweh's promises made to the patriarchs. Barker points out that "It would have been insufficient to have only v18 as the reference to Moses' praying, for without vv26-29, the future for Israel would be inexplicable and Yahweh's justice would be challenged."[204]

6.7.2.5. The appeal to history

To explain and interpret the situation Moses ranges widely over the history of the people and the patriarchs. This too has an obvious teaching element. Moses' intercession on behalf of the people (9:25-29), for example, is based on history. His first request is based on God's former gracious act of liberation in Exodus: "do not destroy the people who are your very own possession, whom you redeemed in your greatness, whom you brought out of Egypt with a mighty hand" (9:26). His second basis for the request goes even further back than the Exodus: "Remember your servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" (9:27). The third basis of Moses' request is related to the vindication of the honor of Yahweh in the eyes of Egypt (9:28).

Craigie's comment on Moses' use of history and memory in his prayer and in his address to the people is noteworthy:

> To the people, Moses recalls that history which shows their unfaithfulness, and on the basis he calls them to obedience and faithfulness. In prayer to God, Moses recalls the long history of God's covenant faithfulness and seeks God's forgiveness for the people on the basis of God's nature, not the people's worthiness.[205]

In the mind of the writer this relates to the present position of the people on the plains of Moab:

> "[T]he recollection of the prayer in Moses' address served to bring a sobering influence on his audience; in the past, there had been moments when the whole future of the people of Israel had been in the balance. In the present, therefore, the people were to remember the past mercies of God and to commit themselves wholeheartedly in allegiance to their Lord."[206]

The command to go in Deuteronomy 10:11 again relates the patriarchal history and shows that the promise to the patriarchs will be fulfilled despite the people's sin.

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[204]P. A. Barker (1995), 114.
[205]P. C. Craigie (1976), 197.
[206]P. C. Craigie (1976), 198.

This section, indeed the whole golden calf incident, ends with another explicit mention of the patriarchal promises, showing yet again the motivation of Yahweh and reminding the hearers-readers why the prayer was effective. Further hope is grounded in the patriarchal promises.[207]

6.8. The differing theological aims of Exodus 33-34 and Deuteronomy 9-10

6.8.1. Introduction

Although there are close and obvious parallels between Exodus 32 and Deuteronomy 9, there are, in contrast, only a limited number of correspondences between Exodus 33-34 and Deuteronomy 10. Most of the details in the account in Exodus 34 are absent in Deuteronomy, and there is no counterpart at all to Exodus 33 in Deuteronomy. At the same time most of the details in the Deuteronomy 10 account do not appear in Exodus, either. There appear to be only a small number of parallels between Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 10, more precisely a few verbatim correspondences occur between Exodus 34:1, 2, 4, 28, 29 and Deuteronomy 10:1-5, 10.

Many of the differences in Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 10 should be explained in the light of their contexts, and we should first of all note that both accounts appear immediately after Moses' prayer (Exod. 33:12-23 and Deut. 9:25-29). Although the accounts in Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 10 may be seen as the result of Moses' intercession, the different textual arrangements of Moses' prayer in the two books indicate that the two accounts which follow have different functions in each book. In Exodus 34 the whole event is presented after Yahweh's answer to a series of prayers by Moses (Exod. 33:19-23), but in Deuteronomy 10:1-9 the events appear *between* Moses' prayer (9:25-29) and Yahweh's answer (10:10-11).

Many scholars think that originally Yahweh's answer in Deuteronomy 10:10-11 followed Deuteronomy 9:29 immediately, and consequently conclude that Deuteronomy 10:1-9 is secondary.[208] A close examination of the text, however, demonstrates that this is not true, and in the following we shall show how Deuteronomy 10:1-9 is closely connected to its surrounding texts.

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[207]P. A. Barker (1995), 118.

[208]Especially 10:6-9, because of the change of the narrative viewpoint from the first person to the third person, is regarded as an even later addition than 10:1-5. For this issue, see below our discussion.

6.8.2. Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 9-10

Before examining the account in Deuteronomy 10:1-9 in detail we need to examine the relationship of Moses' prayer in 9:18-19 to the prayer in 9:25-29 and Yahweh's answer in 10:10-11. The textual arrangement of Moses' prayers suggests that Deuteronomy 9:25-10:11 should simply be considered an expansion of Moses' prayer in 9:18-19. The author of Deuteronomy merely refers to Moses' prayer in 9:18-19 and then expands on it as necessary later, to add strength to the theological message of his sermon. In Deuteronomy 9:18-19 the actual contents of Moses' prayer and Yahweh's answer are not quoted, but the author of Deuteronomy gives us the contents of Moses' prayer and Yahweh's answer, as direct discourse in Deuteronomy 9:26-29 and 10:11.

The various episodes in Deuteronomy 10:1-9 are expressions of Yahweh's faithfulness and grace, and should best be considered as answers to Moses' prayer in 9:25-29. After the recollection of the apostasy at Horeb and the other rebellious incidents in the wilderness in 9:21-24, Moses recalls Yahweh's acts of grace up to the moment when the people arrived at the place where they are standing to hear Moses' speech. Each episode presented in Deut. 10:1-9 displays Yahweh's faithfulness and grace.

There are striking correspondences between 9:25-10:11 and the reference to Moses' prayer in 9:18-19, which lead us to conclude that this is the same prayer.[209] There are similarities of vocabulary, for example, "forty days and forty nights" [אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לָיְלָה] at the beginning (cf. 9:18 and 9:25) and the ending phrases [וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֵלַי גַּם בַּפַּעַם הַהִוא
] (cf. 9:19 and 10:10).

In Deuteronomy 9:25 Moses "lay prostrate before Yahweh the forty days and forty nights" [וָאֶתְנַפַּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֵת אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם וְאֵת־אַרְבָּעִים הַלָּיְלָה] because Yahweh intended "to destroy the people" [לְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתְכֶם]. The use of the definite article in 9:25 implies that this period is already known to the hearer, and refers to the one mentioned in 9:18 where a similar expression occurs: Moses "lay prostrate before Yahweh as at the first" [וָאֶתְנַפַּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה כָּרִאשֹׁנָה].

Similarly, Deuteronomy 9:19b reports that "Yahweh listened to me that time also" [וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֵלַי גַּם בַּפַּעַם הַהִוא], and exactly the same expression appears in 10:10. Then Yahweh's answer is followed in direct discourse in 10:11. Not only the strikingly similar expressions in 9:18-19, 9:25 and 10:10, but also the substantially same content of

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[209]Weinfeld also regards the prayer in Deut. 9:25-29 is the same prayer in 9:18. According to him, the author did not want to interrupt the story by quoting Moses' prayer in v. 18. "After the story was rounded up by the *inclusio* (vv. 22-24, which correspond to vv. 7-8, ...), the author annexed the prayer (vv. 26-29)." M. Weinfeld (1991), 414. Weinfeld refers to D. Daube's work, *Studies in Biblical Law* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947) 74-101, for such a practice in ancient texts.

the prayer in 9:18 and 9:26-29, suggest that the reader is to identify the prayer in 9:25-29 with the one in 9:18-19. The following table summarises the structure of the text:

Introduction to Moses' prayer (9:18, 19a) וָאֶתְנַפַּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה כָּרִאשֹׁנָה אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְאַרְבָּעִים לָיְלָה עַל כָּל־חַטַּאתְכֶם ... כִּי יָגֹרְתִי מִפְּנֵי הָאַף וְהַחֲמָה אֲשֶׁר קָצַף יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם לְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתְכֶם Yahweh's answer (9:19b) וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֵלַי גַּם בַּפַּעַם הַהִוא	Introduction to Moses' prayer (9:25) וָאֶתְנַפַּל לִפְנֵי יְהוָה אֵת אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם וְאֶת־אַרְבָּעִים הַלָּיְלָה אֲשֶׁר הִתְנַפָּלְתִּי כִּי־אָמַר יְהוָה לְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתְכֶם Moses' prayer in direct discourse (9:26-29) Illustrations (10:1-9) Yahweh's answer (10:10b) וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֵלַי גַּם בַּפַּעַם הַהִוא לֹא־אָבָה יְהוָה הַשְׁחִיתֶךָ Yahweh's answer in direct discourse (10:11)

In both 9:18-19 and 9:25-29 the content is the same: Moses prays that Yahweh's anger against the people may be averted. Most scholars agree that Deuteronomy 10:10-11 is Yahweh's answer to Moses' prayer in 9:25-29, and that the "forty days and forty nights" in 10:10 are the same as in 9:25.

6.8.3. The narrative strategy of Deuteronomy 9:17-10:11

The accounts of Moses prayer (9:18-19) and its expansion (9:25-10:11) deserve our discussion. What is the function of the account of Moses' intercession for Aaron in 9:20 and the rebellious incidents in 9:22-24, which seem out of place at this point? In fact these somewhat sombre accounts play a significant role in the development of the author's argument, demonstrating (once again) the sinfulness of the people, and highlighting Yahweh's faithfulness.

Moses reports his prayer for Aaron (9:20), but as in his prayer for the people in 9:18-19 he does not report the exact words of his prayer.[210] This time he does not even mention Yahweh's response to his prayer, though a positive answer is assumed. Rather than giving Yahweh's precise answer we are told about the destruction of the calf (9:21) and other rebellious incidents during the wilderness (9:22-24). These depressing accounts, especially after Yahweh's positive response to Moses' prayer for the people (9:19), when we have still not heard the answer to Moses' prayer for Aaron (9:20), create an extraordinary suspense in the audience's/reader's mind. They also raise the question why Moses mentions a series of rebellious incidents in the wilderness at this point. What

[210]In 9:18-19, though he refers to his prayer and Yahweh's positive response, Moses does not report the exact wording of his prayer nor that of Yahweh's answer to it.

will Yahweh's response be, in the light of the various rebellious incidents in the wilderness? And how will Yahweh react in relation to Aaron? The accounts in 9:25-10:11, as a whole, answer the kind of questions raised in 9:18-24. In 9:25 Moses picks up again the prayer mentioned in 9:18-19 and expands it in 9:26-10:11. But this time, between his prayer and Yahweh's answer, Moses recounts several events which demonstrate Yahweh's forgiveness. The peculiar textual arrangement of Deuteronomy suggests that all the episodes in Deuteronomy 10:1-9 have to be read as concrete examples of Yahweh's response in grace.

It would seem, therefore, that the author of Deuteronomy was able to put these accounts in 10:1-9 before mentioning Yahweh's response. Perhaps it arises from the sermonic character of this part of the book. The unusual textual arrangement of Deuteronomy may be understood as an outworking of Deuteronomy's sermonic nature. Unlike Exodus 34, which is a historical narrative and thus more or less follows the chronological order of the events, Moses in his sermon, after forty years of wilderness experience, is not obliged to present historical events in chronological order. Thus he picks up various representative events that demonstrate Yahweh's grace and faithfulness.

While Exodus describes the golden calf incident and its sequel in detail, Deuteronomy's description of the golden calf incident is, generally speaking, selective and brief. When it comes to the account of the giving of the tablets, Exodus describes the events in detail, whereas Deuteronomy only mentions the outline of the events. Exodus is keen to show how the covenant was broken and, then, renewed. The people's doubt about the presence of Yahweh[211] caused them to make the golden calf: the people asked Aaron to make for them אֱלֹהִים who will go before them (32:1). As a consequence Yahweh withdrew his presence from the people (32:34; 33:2-3) but allowed only Moses to experience it (33:7-11). Moses' long prayer is devoted to persuading Yahweh to allow his presence among the people (33:12-23). In this regard Exodus 34 is similar. It describes in a fair amount of detail the theophany, its preparation, and its sequel, the covenant renewal and Moses' shining face.

But the function of the golden calf episode in Deuteronomy is different. Deuteronomy's concern is to call the people to obedience to Yahweh. As part of Moses' sermon on this subject (i.e., to prompt the people's voluntary obedience to Yahweh) Deuteronomy contrasts their unfaithfulness to Yahweh and Yahweh's faithfulness to them. Though Deuteronomy's description of the golden calf incident is generally brief in comparison to that in Exodus, Deuteronomy is prepared to elaborate some points quite lavishly if they highlight his theme of Yahweh's faithfulness or the people's

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[211]Nearly half of the material in Exodus deals with the presence of Yahweh (Exod. 25-40). Cf. Yahweh's promise to Moses in Exod. 25:8: "Have them make a sanctuary for me, and I will dwell among them."

unfaithfulness. By contrasting the faithfulness of Yahweh with the people who do not deserve his grace, Deuteronomy invites the hearer to obey Yahweh.

The passages surrounding 9:18-19 play a significant role in highlighting Yahweh's grace in connection with the concrete examples given in 10:1-9. Each of the episodes in 10:1-9 find their counterparts in Deuteronomy 9: the renewal of the tablets (10:1-5) compared with the destruction of the tablets (9:17); Aaron's death and burial (10:6) compared with Moses' intercession for Aaron (9:20); the placing of the tablets in the ark and its carriage by the Levites (10:1-5, 8-9) compared with the destruction of the calf (9:21);[212] Yahweh's provision in the wilderness (10:6-7) compared with the people's rebellions in the wilderness (9:22-24).

The following table shows clearly the relationship between them:

9:17	destruction of the tablets	10:1-5	renewal of the tablets
9:20	Moses' intercession for Aaron	10:6	Aaron's death and burial
9:21	destruction of the calf	10:1-5	deposition of the tablets into the ark
		8-9	and its carriage by the Levites
9:22-24	rebellions in the wilderness	10:6-7	Yahweh's provision in the wilderness

6.8.4. Yahweh's faithfulness and grace in Deuteronomy 10:1-11

We shall now examine how far the accounts in Deuteronomy 10:1-11 reveal Yahweh's faithfulness, bearing in mind that the structure and textual arrangement in Deuteronomy is different from Exodus. The most striking difference is that Exodus 34 is preceded by Yahweh's response to Moses' prayer (Exod. 33:19-23), while in Deuteronomy Yahweh's response does not immediately follow Moses' prayer. In Deuteronomy there is a considerable gap between Moses' prayer (Deut. 9:25-29) and Yahweh's response (10:10-11). In Deuteronomy 10:1-9, which comes between the two we find the following material:

10:1-5	the accounts of the giving of the tablets
10:1-3, 5	the making of the ark and deposition of the tablets in it
10:6-7	the people's journey in the wilderness with the report of Aaron's death and Eleazar's succession to the priesthood in place of his father
10:8-9	the ministry of the Levites relative to the ark and their special position.

Most of the episodes must have occurred a long time after the departure from Horeb and at a first glance they seem to have little connection with the surrounding texts. However, the way these episodes are sandwiched between Moses' prayer and Yahweh's response suggests that they should be considered as examples which display the grace of Yahweh.

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[212]I.e., the ark as a symbol of the presence of Yahweh versus the calf as a symbol of the presence of false god made by the people.

6.8.4.1. The giving of the tablets in Exodus 34:1-4, 28-29 and Deuteronomy 10:1-5

Deuteronomy introduces the command of Yahweh by the time indicator "at that time" [בָּעֵת הַהִוא] (Deut. 10:1a) which does not appear in Exodus. The reason for this additional expression in Deuteronomy is not hard to find, if we read the two accounts in their contexts. In Exodus 33 Moses prays to Yahweh to show him his glory (33:18) and Yahweh positively responds to it (33:19-23). Exodus 34:1 simply continues the story with *waw*-consecutive, וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה, without interruption.

On the other hand, the opening section of Deuteronomy 10 is thematically related to Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 9:25-29, but not in terms of chronology. Chronologically speaking, all the events in 10:1-9 occurred after Yahweh's answer in 10:10-11. Deuteronomy places these events before Yahweh's answer, as a demonstration of Yahweh's faithfulness.

The expression בָּעֵת הַהִוא (Deut. 10:1), with which Deuteronomy introduces the episode of the second giving of the tablets, does not necessarily mean that the events in Deuteronomy 10:1-5 immediately followed Moses' prayer in 9:25-29 but indicates that the events occurred more generally around the period during which Moses offered his intercessory prayer.[213] We may compare its use here with Genesis 21:22 and 38:1, where Wenham comments that sometimes בָּעֵת הַהִיא "introduces something outside the main sequence of events."[214]

Other differences in the accounts of the giving of the tablets in Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 10 reveal the different concerns of the two books. Moses' prayers in Exodus 33 mainly deal with the issues of Yahweh's presence and the revelation of Yahweh's glory. In Exodus 33 Moses prays:

> "Now if I have found favour in your eyes, show me your ways so that I may know you and find favour in your eyes." (Exod. 33:13)
>
> "If your presence will not go, do not carry us up from here. For how shall it be known that I have found favour in your eyes, I and your people, unless you go with us." (Exod. 33:15f)
>
> "Show me your glory, I pray." (Exod. 33:18)

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[213]See P. C. Craigie (1976), 199; E. S. Kalland (1992), 83; J. Ridderbos (1984), 137.

[214] G. J. Wenham (1994), 91. In many cases the event introduced by the expression בָּעֵת הַהִיא spans an extensive period. The story of Judah and Tamar, which is introduced by בָּעֵת הַהִיא (Gen. 38:1), spans at least twenty years. See G. J. Wenham (1994), 365; cf. also Num. 22:4. Another occurrence of בָּעֵת הַהִיא in Deut. 10:8 should be understood in this sense.

Consequently the account in Exodus 34 is much more focused on the theophany than on the giving of the tablets.[215] The giving of the tablets is described as an ancillary to the revelation of his name and the revelation of his glory, and also to the question of the restoration of the relationship between the people and Yahweh. Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy, however, focuses on the deliverance of the people from destruction and the forgiveness of their sin on the basis of Yahweh's faithfulness to the promise to the patriarchs. In Deuteronomy Moses prays:

> "Lord Yahweh, do not destroy the people, even your inheritance whom you redeemed in your greatness ... Remember your servants, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Do not look at the stubbornness of this people, their wickedness, and their sin." (Deut. 9:26-27)

The different concerns of Moses' prayer in both books are well reflected in their accounts of the giving of the tablets.[216] Exodus reports Yahweh's lengthy command in relation to the receiving of the tablets, and describes the events with much precision. The precise time for Moses' ascent to the mountain, "in the morning" is mentioned twice (34:2, 4), and the precise place where Moses should meet Yahweh is "on the top of the mountain" (34:2). On the other hand, Deuteronomy does not report any of these details but simply summarises all this with a brief command from Yahweh to Moses, "come to me to the mountain" (Deut. 10:1).

In Exodus the presence of God is at stake after the people's apostasy with the golden calf. The question is whether the presence of God would continue in the midst of the people or not. In the Exodus narrative the commands and prohibitions are given because of the theophany not because of the giving of the tablets (esp. Exod. 34:2-3). Noth rightly understands Yahweh's command to "be ready" in Exodus 34:2a as "a cultic or ritual preparation for the forthcoming encounter with God,"[217] indicating once again the concern of Exodus for right behaviour in the presence of God.

On the other hand, the description of Moses' rising early in the morning does not appear in Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy refers only to the giving of the tablets, since the primary concern of Deuteronomy is not the presence of God for its own sake but to show Yahweh's faithfulness even after the apostasy of the people, in Lenchak's words "to bring each member of its audience into a proper relationship with God."[218] Lenchak rightly comments on Deuteronomy's concern as follows:

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[215]Cf. W. Johnstone (1990), 12: "The climax of the book [of Exodus] is the construction of the Tabernacle, a dwelling-place for God himself in the midst of his people."

[216]Not only the giving of the tablets but also the rest of accounts in Deuteronomy 10:1-9 (the ark motif, journey report, institution and maintenance of the priesthood, appointment of Levites) are to understood as a gracious response of Yahweh.

[217]M. Noth, *Exodus* (1962), 261.

[218]T. A. Lenchak (1993), 3; cf. G. von Rad (1966), 79; E. Blair (1961): 42-43; J. A. Thompson (1974), 12.

> The "sermons" of Dt are concerned to stir up the right spirit, to appeal to the emotions and conscience of each individual in Israel, and to drive home the message of obedience to Yahweh, who is to be loved with one's whole heart and soul.[219]

In Exodus, it is worth noticing the narrator's additional comment on Moses' action in Exodus 34:4, כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְהוָה אֹתוֹ, which fits well in the context of Exodus. In Exodus Moses performs everything that Yahweh commands him to do, and the Exodus narrator's evaluative comment is particularly appropriate, contrasting Moses' obedience with the people's disobedience, by which the covenant was broken.

In Deuteronomy, on the other hand, the faithfulness of Yahweh is stressed rather than Moses' obedience.[220] Moreover, Deuteronomy does not contrast Moses' personal obedience with the people's disobedience--on the contrary Moses is often identified with the people.

However, when Deuteronomy introduces a comment on Yahweh's writing on the tablets: "and He wrote on the tablets, *like the former writing*" (Deut. 10:4a), this stresses Yahweh's graciousness in allowing exactly the same tablets for the rebellious people. Though the act of the second giving of the tablets is already enough indication of the graciousness of God,[221] the additional phrase "like the former writing" gives additional emphasis.

Deuteronomy's reminder of the theophany on the occasion of the first giving of the tablets is interesting, since Deuteronomy does not mention the theophany on the occasion of the second giving of the tablets. Deuteronomy's "flashback" to the theophany on the occasion of the first giving of the tablets, while not mentioning even a word of the theophany on the occasion of the second giving of the tablets, means that Deuteronomy is not interested in reporting the theophany for its own sake (unlike Exodus) but interested in showing the faithfulness of Yahweh in its retelling of the golden calf episode. Deuteronomy connects the second giving of the tablets (which resulted from the people's faithlessness), with the first giving of the tablets, which was the product of Yahweh's faithfulness.

To sum up, the account of the giving of the tablets in Deuteronomy 10:1-5 is to be read as Yahweh's gracious answer to Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 9:25-29, as a sign of forgiveness of sin, whereas the same account in Exodus 34 is understood as ancillary to

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[219]T. A. Lenchak (1993), 6.

[220]Cf. the similar expression, "and there they are, *as Yahweh commanded me*," occurs in Deut. 10:5b where Moses describes deposition of the tablets into the ark. Here, however, the emphasis seems to be laid on Yahweh not on the tablets.

[221]P. C. Craigie (1976), 200.

the theophany (Exod. 34:5-7) which is Yahweh' answer to Moses specific request to show him his glory (33:18).

6.8.4.2. The making of the ark and the placing of the tablets in Deuteronomy 10:1-5

The most striking difference between the accounts in Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 10 is that in Deuteronomy Yahweh commands Moses to make an ark (Deut. 10:1b) and to put the tablets into the ark (10:2b). In compliance with Yahweh's command Moses makes the ark and puts the tablets in it (10:3aα, 5aβ). The ark motif in Deuteronomy 10 has no parallel in Exodus 34.[222]

At first glance Yahweh seems to command Moses to make an ark before receiving the tablets. The account seems to suggest that Moses made the ark himself before he went up the mountain and that immediately he came down he put the tablets into the ark. This seems to contradict the account in Exodus 37:1-9 where the ark was made by Bezalel after Moses' descent from the mountain. According to Exodus 40:20, the tablets of the covenant[223] were not put into the ark of the covenant until the erection of the tabernacle.

Source criticism usually explains these features by suggesting that an account of the ark also existed in the original Exodus narrative but that after the inclusion of the P account (Exod. 25-31, 35-40) the final redactor deleted the earlier account of the ark to avoid contradiction or repetition. Driver thinks that the text of Exodus 34:1-5 once contained an ark story in accordance with the narrative in Deuteronomy, and that when JE was combined with P, the passages containing the ark stories were omitted.[224] Source critics think that the P writer elevated the view of the ark from a mere container for the tablets into a symbol of divine presence. However, as Boorer points out, this is "an argument from silence and therefore cannot carry much weight."[225]

Boorer on the other hand suggests that "the author of Deuteronomy 9-10* has added this distinct motif to the tradition of the renewal of the tables"[226] and, referring to 1 Kings 8:9, attributes the idea of the ark as a repository of the tablets to the Deuteronomist.

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[222]Cf. also Deut. 10:8-9 where the ark motif appears in relation to the appointment of the Levites. This passage has no parallel in Exodus, either.

[223]The word "testimony" [הָעֵדוּת] is used for the ark of the covenant in Exod. 40:20. In Deut. 31:9, 24-26, the laws of Deuteronomy are said to have been delivered to the sons of Levi, and deposited by them "by the side of ark ... that it may be for a witness against you [בְּךָ לְעֵד]" (Deut. 31:26).

[224]S. R. Driver (1902), 118; see also G. H. Davies (1969), 275; J. P. Hyatt (1971); A. Phillips (1973), 72-73; A. D. H. Mayes (1979), 203; M. Weinfeld (1991), 417.

[225]S. Boorer (1992), 318, n. 226.

[226]S. Boorer (1992), 318.

Van Seters believes that Exodus 34 was composed after the model of Deuteronomy 10. He thinks that the account of the ark never existed in Exodus 34. According to Van Seters, the Yahwist deliberately omitted the account of the ark, because the Yahwist held an elevated view of the ark as a symbol of divine guidance rather than as a receptacle for the law.[227]

However in our view the ark motif in Deuteronomy 10 should be understood from the purpose of Moses' address. Many have pointed out that according to Exodus it was not Moses but Bezalel who made the ark, and that the ark motif at this point is chronologically wrong. Moses, however, as a leader of the venture, can be legitimately credited with having the ark made, even though the actual handiwork was undertaken by Bezalel.[228] Moses is also not obliged to follow the chronological sequence of the events in his sermon. In any case, dischronologised narrative is not uncommon in the Old Testament.[229] Deuteronomy 10:3 and 10:5 do not claim that the actions mentioned are in chronological order. As Kalland notes, the text does not say that the placing of the tablets into the ark took place immediately after Moses' descent from the mountain.[230] The author of Deuteronomy deliberately dischronologises the events in relation to the ark,[231] and to make his points strongly and convincingly he often develops his subject thematically, breaking the chronological sequence of the events if he wishes.

According to Driver the author of Deuteronomy wants to show the reader how the people "were finally restored completely to Yahweh's favour."[232] Weinfeld comments:

> The author of Deuteronomy is eager to stress that the new tablets, which represent the new covenant, would not differ from the original ones. The tablets are the same as the first ones (vv 1, 3), and the inscribed words are identical with the words of the first tablets (v. 4). These words are the Ten Words/Commandments revealed to the people 'out of the fire on the day of the assembly.[233]

Moses seems to mention the deposit of the tablets of the covenant into the ark here as evidence of the restoration of the formerly broken relationship between Yahweh and the people. It is worth noting that according to Kitchen, a copy of a treaty was normally deposited in the sanctuary of a vassal state in the ancient Near East.[234] Here

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[227]J. Van Seters (1994), 329. N. Lohfink (1963), 212, understands the reference to the ark (i.e., the ark is the deposit place of the covenant document) as a juristic motif of the author.

[228]E. S. Kalland (1992), 84.

[229]See W. J. Martin (1969): 179-86.

[230]E. S. Kalland (1992), 84.

[231]J. Ridderbos (1984), 138: the tablets and the ark "that belong logically together are placed together to the partial neglect of the chronological sequence."

[232]S. R. Driver (1902), 117.

[233]M . Weinfeld (1991), 418.

[234] See Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament* (Chicago: InterVarsity, 1966), 93; M. G. Kline (1963), 14ff; idem (1972), 35-36, 121; G. E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition," *Biblical Archaeologist* 17 (September 1954): 60; and *ANET*, 205.

Yahweh requires the same of Moses. There is also an interesting relationship between the destruction of the calf and the placing of the tablets into the ark: the former is symbolic of a false god, whereas the latter is a symbol of the presence of Yahweh.

A reading of the Exodus accounts of the ark (Exod. 25:10-16; 37:1-5; 40:20) makes it appear likely that the author of Deuteronomy knew the Exodus accounts of the ark very well. The account of Yahweh's command concerning the making of the ark and the placing of the tablets into it in Deuteronomy (10:1-5) seems to summarise the command given, even before the incident of the golden calf, in Exodus 25 and the placing of the tablets into the ark after the erection of the tabernacle in Exodus 40.

In Deuteronomy Moses seems to sum up Israel's past wilderness history in a miniature review referring to the giving of the tablets, the placing of the tablets into the ark, and the carrying of the ark by the Levites. All the remarks about the ark in Deuteronomy 10 can be understood as the retrospective reflection of Moses in his sermon on the plain of Moab.

Moses' concluding comment is, "There they are as Yahweh commanded me" (Deut. 10:5). At the time of Moses' preaching the tablets were inside of the ark as a visible reminder to the people of God's presence in their midst.[235] In other words, the grace of Yahweh was not only manifested through the giving of a new set of the tablets at Horeb but also continued throughout their wilderness journey until the very time Moses gave a sermon some forty years later.[236]

6.8.4.3. Journey report in Deuteronomy 10:6-7

Deuteronomy 10:6-7 reports the journey of Israel in the wilderness, the death and burial of Aaron, and Aaron's son Eleazar's succession to the priesthood in his stead. Most scholars regards this passage as extraneous in its context for the following reasons:[237] (a) there is a change of narrative viewpoint from the first person to the third person; (b) the itinerary in 10:6-7 disagrees with the journey of the Israelites contained in Numbers 33; (c) the passage interrupts the discourse of Moses. We will examine these issues below.

It is true that there is a change of the narrative viewpoint from the first person to the third person in this section.[238] Such changes, however, are not unknown elsewhere.

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[235]R. Brown, *The Message of Deuteronomy* (1993), 136.

[236]A. D. H. Mayes (1979), 205, does not want to find from this phrase any indication of the date of the writing nor the place and condition of the ark in the time of the author (for him, the deuteronomist) but takes this "as a rhetorical statement in the context of the deuteronomist's insistence on the ark as only a box containing the law tablets."

[237]For e.g., see S. R. Driver (1902), 118-19.

[238]See P. C. Craigie (1976), 200; J. A. Thompson (1974), 145: "Its origin is not known, nor, indeed, the reason for inserting it here."

It is a question whether it should be considered a narrator's comment (i.e., narrative discourse) or a continuation of Moses' sermon (i.e. hortatory discourse). In fact Deuteronomy 10:6-9 seems to be a mixture of Moses' address and a narrator's comment.

The itinerary in Deuteronomy 10:6-9 seems to be an extract from Numbers 33. There are, however, some variations in the names of places, itinerary, and names of the places of the death and burial of Aaron, as shown in the following:

Itinerary in Deuteronomy 10	Itinerary in Number 33
The Wells of Bene Jaakan [בְּאֵרֹת בְּנֵי־יַעֲקָן]	Moseroth [מֹסֵרוֹת]
Moserah [מוֹסֵרָה]	Bene Jaakan [בְּנֵי יַעֲקָן]
Gudgodah [הַגִּדְגֹּדָה]	Hor Haggidgad [חֹר הַגִּדְגָּד]
Jotbathah [יָטְבָתָה]	Jotbathah [יָטְבָתָה]
Aaron died at Moserah [מוֹסֵרָה]	Aaron died at Mount Hor [הֹר הָהָר]

The different spellings of the places should not be considered problematic. "Beeroth Bene Jaakan" or the "wells of Bene Jaakan" seems to be the full form of Bene Jaakan (Num. 33:31). "Moserah" can be identified with its plural form, "Moseroth" (Num. 33:31),[239] and "Gudgodah" (Deut. 10:7) with "Hor Haggidgad" (Num. 33:32).[240] "Jotbathah" is common to both itineraries. The slightly different spellings of the places should not be understood as the different places. The place of Aaron's death at Moserah seems to be a larger area that included Mount Hor.[241]

It is important, however, to recognise that the purpose of citing the names of places in Deuteronomy is different from that in Numbers. The purpose of the journey report in Deuteronomy is not to give full information about the Israelite encampment in the wilderness. Numbers 33 lists forty places of the Israelite encampment from the day they left Egypt until they arrived at the plains of Moab; twenty-one of the forty places are the places where the Israelites encamped from Sinai to Kadesh. In contrast to the long list in Numbers 33, Deuteronomy 10 refers to only four places of encampment in the fortieth year of the Israelite wilderness journey.[242]

As is clear from Deuteronomy's report of the death and burial of Aaron and the comment on the abundant water at Jotbathah, the purpose of the journey report in

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[239]Cf. E. S. Kalland (1992), 84: "Moserah, like Taberah, Massah, and Meribah, appears to be first a common noun, as the plural form in Numbers 33:30-31 suggests. Moserah (Moseroth) means "chastisement(s)" and might be Moses' designation of the area and not a generally used name." See Manley, "Problems in Deuteronomy," 203ff.

[240]C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch (1981) I: 3: 245: "*Gudgodah* is only a slightly altered and abbreviated form of *Hor-hagidgad*, the cave of *Gidgad* or *Gudgodad*." See also T. R. Ashley (1993), 631. Cf. also M. Weinfeld (1991), 404.

[241]E. S. Kalland (1992), 84. See also J. Ridderbos (1984), 139; E. H. Merrill (1994), 199.

[242]C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch (1981) I: 3: 245. Cf. also M. Weinfeld (1991), 419.

Deuteronomy is once again to highlight Yahweh's grace. Deuteronomy picks up some representative places which show well Yahweh's grace during the wilderness journey.

If this view is correct, the view that the journey report in Deuteronomy interrupts the discourse of Moses needs to be re-examined.[243] The journey report in Deuteronomy 10:6-8, in which the death and burial of Aaron appear, should be read in connection with Moses' intercession for Aaron and the rebellious incident in the wilderness (9:20, 22-24).[244] The itinerary in Deuteronomy 10:6-7 is a counterpart of the rebellious incidents in the wilderness in Deuteronomy 9:22-24 and these two passages should be read together. While the latter created suspense and a negative and gloomy atmosphere after the reference to Moses' prayer in 9:18-19, the passage we are now considering offers a positive and promising mood after Moses' prayer in 9:25-29. Thus the itinerary report gives more evidence for Yahweh's forgiveness and faithfulness.

A peculiar feature in this report of journey is the water motif in Deuteronomy. Deuteronomy describes Jotbathah as "a land of streams of waters" [אֶרֶץ נַחֲלֵי מָיִם] and Bene Jaakan as "the wells" of Bene Jaakan.[245] These phrases are not found in Numbers. In the Deuteronomy account these places are described as a fertile region or a blessing of Yahweh through the use of water images, "well" and "river." Unlike a formal list of the itinerary in Numbers, Deuteronomy appears to stress the abundant provision supplied by Yahweh during their wilderness journey.

In our view the journey passage in Deuteronomy 10:6-7 does not interrupt Moses' discourse but is well rooted in Moses' discourse. The journey report (10:6-7) along with the accounts of the renewal of the tablets and the placing of the tablets into the ark (10:1-5) show how Moses' prayer was answered in the future and thus provide further evidence of Yahweh's grace and mercy.

6.8.4.4. The death and burial of Aaron in Deuteronomy 10:6

Most scholars think that the report of Aaron's death and burial interrupts the discourse of Moses. This passage, however, should be read in the light of Moses' intercession for Aaron in Deuteronomy 9:20. Yahweh was angry enough to kill Aaron because of his reprehensible involvement in the incident of the golden calf. Though one may well assume Yahweh's positive response to Moses' prayer for Aaron in the light of Yahweh's response to Moses' prayer for the people (9:19), the absence of a specific response by Yahweh creates a certain suspense because of the gloomy report (9:21-24) that follows. The death and burial of Aaron at Moserah, not immediately at Horeb,

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[243]S. R. Driver (1902), 118-19.
[244]The issue related to the death and burial of Aaron will be discussed below.
[245]Cf. also the occurrence of נַחַל in relation to the destruction of the calf in Deut. 9:21.

clearly indicates that Moses' prayer had been answered. Aaron was spared as a result of Moses' intercessory prayer. Consequently this report relieves the tension created in 9:20-24.

Moreover, Aaron's son Eleazar's succession to the priesthood in his stead, which implies Aaron's priesthood had already been established despite Aaron's sin at Horeb, is recollected as a further evidence of Yahweh's grace and mercy toward Aaron and his descendants.[246] As Keil rightly comments, the author of Deuteronomy highlights Yahweh's grace not only through the restoration of the tablets but also through "the institution and maintenance of the high-priesthood."[247]

6.8.4.5. The ark and the Levites in Deuteronomy 10:8-9

Deuteronomy 10:8-9 appears to be a historical parenthesis. The principal responsibilities of the Levites are outlined here: to carry the ark of the covenant of Yahweh; to stand before Yahweh to minister to him; and to bless in his name.[248] While 10:6-7 is the narrator's comment, for the people are mentioned there in the third person plural instead of the second person, 10:8-9 seems to be Moses' address to the people, for Yahweh is mentioned here as "your God."[249]

Though many scholars claim that the account of the institution of the Levites and the description of their responsibilities (10:8-9) are out of context, this account is not really parenthetical in style nor does it interrupt the flow of Moses' thought.[250] We find several reasons for the inclusion of this passage at this juncture. First, the account of the making of the ark and the placing of the tablets into it (10:1-5) is closely related to the primary responsibility of the Levites. The placing of the tablets in the ark seems to prompt Moses to mention the appointment of the Levites here and the responsibilities of the Levites with and before the ark all along the journey.[251]

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[246]J. A. Thompson (1974), 145. Cf. S. R. Driver (1902), 120, who, though acknowledging the view suggested by Hengstenberg and Keil that the general purpose of Deut. 9-10 is to illustrate Yahweh's favour and grace towards his disobedient people, disagrees with them: "it is difficult to think that, had such been the aim of the present notice, it would have been expressed so indirectly."

[247]C. F. Keil and F. Delitzsch (1981) I: 3: 340.

[248]The institution of the priesthood is narrated in Exod. 28-29; Lev. 8; and the Levites' duties in Num. 3:5ff. All these sections are considered to belong to P. See S. R. Driver (1902), 121.

[249]De Regt, however, thinks that Moses' address and the narrator's comment are blended in Deuteronomy 10:6-9 because of the expression עד היום הזה "until this day" in verse 8. See L. J. de Regt (1988), 7, 117, n. 11. J. Ridderbos (1984: 140) regards 10:8-9 as a later insertion but, raising a question of the second person ("your God") in 10:9, suggests a possibility that a later author adapted "the verse to Moses' style." Pointing out that "these things are stated here [i.e., 10:8-9] as fact, not as a future matters (as in 18:2)," Ridderbos attributes this passage to a later addition.

[250]S. R. Driver (1902), 121, unusually takes 10:8-9 as "a genuine continuation of the discourse of Moses [in Deut. 10:1-5]."

[251]P. C. Craigie (1976), 201; E. S. Kalland (1992), 84.

Second, Deuteronomy 10:8 begins with the time indicator "at that time" and finishes with another time indicator "to this day." These time indicators are very significant in the interpretation of the passage. We do not know the exact time indicated by the expression בָּעֵת הַהִוא in Deuteronomy 10:8. It appears to refer back to the time of the placing of the tablets into the ark in 10:5. According to Deuteronomy 10:1-5, the placing of the tablets into the ark follows immediately the giving of tablets. No sooner did Moses receive the renewed tablets than he put them into the ark. Though, chronologically speaking, he did not do these things at the same time, they are described as though they happened virtually simultaneously. Therefore "at that time" (10:8) can be identified with the same time indicated by בָּעֵת הַהִוא in Deuteronomy 10:1. In other words, Deuteronomy describes the placing of the tablets into the ark as the first event as a sign of forgiveness of the people's sin. The author of Deuteronomy has a reason to describe these two events as they happened at the same time, even to the extent of dischronologising the account of the making of the ark. This reason will be evident once we explain the use of another time indicator "to this day" which occurs in the same verse.

Third, the expression "to this day" [עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה] (10:8) indicates that the ministry of the Levites is still active in the preacher's/narrator's day (or at least until the people listen to Moses' sermon).[252] The expression "to this day" (10:8) indicates that the responsibilities assigned to the Levites at an earlier date still apply in the present. The theological purpose of this passage, therefore, is to show that Yahweh's grace did not stop with the placing of the tablets at Horeb, but continued throughout the wilderness journey up to the present moment when the people listen to Moses' sermon. This could be regarded as a rhetorical expression similar to a merismus.[253] Yahweh's grace is expressed in the two events, one happened immediately after Moses' prayer (the placing of the tablets into the ark) and the other happened in the recent past (the ministry of the Levites with the ark and before the ark). In this way the author shows that Yahweh's grace extends from the beginning of the renewal of the tablets to the time the people listen Moses' sermon: from the beginning to the end. This is why the author of Deuteronomy deliberately dischronologises the account of the making of the ark and the placing of the tablets into the ark.

We can summarise our argument so far as follows. The author first transfers the idea of Yahweh's grace as expressed in the making of the new set of tablets and the ark by describing the placing of the tablets into it without allowing an interval between the reception of the tablets and their placing into the ark. Thus the ark becomes an

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[252]Cf. G. H. Davies (1962), 275.

[253]For an explanation of "merismus," see, for e.g., L. Alonso Schökel (1988), 83f: "Merismus reduces a complete series to two of its constituent elements, or it divides a whole into two halves. 'Mountains and valleys' represent the whole of the countryside. 'Heaven and earth' is the universe. The two elements must represent the totality." For further explanation see also Jože Krašovec(1983): 231-39.

embodiment of Yahweh's grace (Deut. 10:1-5).[254] In Deuteronomy 10:8 the writer is saying that Yahweh's grace has continued from the time of the placing of the tablets into the ark at Horeb to the present time when the people listen to Moses' sermon, by allowing the Levites to serve with and before the ark all along the forty years of wilderness journey.

Between the placing of the tablets into the ark (10:1-5) and the Levites' ministry with regard to the ark (10:8-9) the author gives other illustrations of Yahweh's grace. It was shown in the death and burial of Aaron (long after the golden calf incident), the succession to the priesthood by Aaron's son, and the provision of water during the wilderness journey (Deut. 10:6-7).[255]

6.8.4.6. Yahweh's answer to Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 10:10-11

The episodes in Deuteronomy 10:1-9 which illuminate Yahweh's grace and faithfulness, come to a climax with the specific mention of Yahweh's answer to Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 10:10-11. After a somewhat lengthy interval after the report of his prayer, Moses mentions again his forty days and forty nights stay on the mountain (cf. 9:25) to remind the people that he had not yet finished his prayer, started in Deuteronomy 9:25 and interrupted by the illustrations (10:1-9). Yahweh's response immediately follows Moses' reminder of his forty days' stay on the mountain.

The phrase, "and Yahweh listened to me that time also" (10:10), which is the exact repetition of 9:19b, indicates this is an expansion of the prayer briefly mentioned in 9:18-19. Yahweh listened to Moses' intercession on the Israelites' behalf, and was not willing to destroy them. It is interesting that the final verse (10:11) of the whole sermon on the golden calf episode (Deut. 9:1-10:11) is not a comment from Moses himself but a direct quotation of Yahweh's answer. The last word on the subject of the golden calf in Deuteronomy is Yahweh's response, emphasising the mercy of Yahweh. They were still on their way to the land, not because of their righteousness but only through the grace of Yahweh.

After Yahweh's positive response to Moses' prayer Deuteronomy presents one of its most important concerns, the journey motif, in Deuteronomy 10:11. Moses finishes his sermon on the golden calf episode (Deut. 9:1-10:11) by quoting Yahweh's command. As the ultimate sign of a full restoration of the covenant Moses is asked to lead the people to the land which Yahweh promised to the patriarchs. The renewed community could

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[254]The understanding of the ark, whether as a receptacle of the tablets or as a visible symbol of Yahweh's presence, does not affect to see the ark as an embodiment of Yahweh's grace. I, however, do not see any difficulty or contradiction in regarding these two concepts as compatible.

[255]Notice again the representative four places of encampment in the fortieth year.

continue their journey. Their journey is owed solely to Yahweh's grace and mercy. As von Rad says, "The forgiveness vouchsafed is expressed still more effectively by the order to Moses to prepare for departure and for a journey towards the promised land."[256] This command confirms Yahweh's intention to continue to be with his people.[257]

6.8.4.7. Concluding remarks on Deuteronomy 10:1-11

Exodus 34 and Deuteronomy 10 are the continuation of Moses' prayer in Exodus 33 and Deuteronomy 9:25-29, respectively. Exodus 34 is to be understood as Yahweh's response to Moses' prayer in 33:12-23, whereas Deuteronomy 10:1-9 is Yahweh's response to Moses' prayer in Deuteronomy 9:25-29. In Exodus 33 Moses engages in a long prayer to achieve Yahweh's consent, and specifically mentions Yahweh's positive answer to this (Exod. 33:19ff). Deuteronomy's report, however, is significantly different. After Moses' relatively short prayer in comparison to that in Exodus, Yahweh's specific response to Moses' prayer appears only at 10:10b. Deuteronomy mentions Yahweh's response only after the account of the renewal of the tablets and the placing of them into the ark (10:1-5), the people's journey with the report of Eleazar's succession to the priest (10:6-7), the carrying of the ark by the Levites (10:8-9). This means all the accounts reported between Moses' prayer (9:25-29) and Yahweh's response (10:10-11) should be considered concrete examples of Yahweh's answer to Moses' prayer.

6.9. Conclusion

In this chapter we seem to have come at last to the heart of the matter. The source critics did not succeed in providing an alternative to the text in its final form as a subject for our studies. Our genre studies told us what to expect when we read the text of the golden calf stories in Exodus and Deuteronomy. Discourse analysis helped to find various signposts which alerted us to the structure of the text, but otherwise did not take us much further forward.

We discovered that the content of the Exodus text is not simply a neutral historical narrative. The story has a meaning, and within the text lies a message, a warning about rebelliousness, a warning against idolatry. It tells us about human behaviour, about lack of faith in Yahweh, lack of faith in a leader raised up by Yahweh, about disobedience and flagrant rebellion. Left on their own the people were unable to

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[256]G. von Rad (1964), 80.

[257]D. L. Christensen (1991), 200. B. Peckham, (1975: 57) appropriately comments as follows: "In summary, 10:10-11 conclude and combine all the narrative themes of these chapters by alluding to certain themes of these chapters by alluding to certain aspects of each. The main theme was covenant, its violation and reconfirmation."

keep God's commandments even for a short while. We see false leadership and its readiness to fall back on empty, pragmatic solutions to appease the crowd. Features like this are not *unique* to a tribe wandering in the wilderness, they are recognisable as permanent features of human behaviour.

But if we learn about ourselves we also learn about God. The narrative tells us that God promises to be with his people in spite of their failure and sin, but suggests that there is a limit beyond which a crisis occurs in God's relationship with his people. It tells us that Yahweh is a gracious and merciful God, but he is also a God of judgement, a holy God and a faithful God.

In Deuteronomy there is a slightly different theological emphasis. When Moses reassures the people the reader is also reassured about God's faithfulness. Along with the Israelites on the plains of Moab, today's readers have set out before them what they must do, and not do, if they are to enter into God's promises. The promised land lies ahead, with all its benefits, but those who enjoy it must enter into a covenantal relationship with God if the enterprise is not to end in disaster. He will be faithful, but will his people be faithful?

Our studies as serious students of the Pentateuch seem also here to match the concerns of the more general reader, and if members of the wider Christian community are looking for guidance from more academic studies of the Old Testament they are likely to find studies of the theological issues we have addressed in this chapter more rewarding than areas of study that seem only to take them to the threshold of the subject.

Chapter 7

Conclusion

At the end of our studies of the differences, similarities and complex relationships between the two accounts of the golden calf incident, we find that the methods that promised most failed to come up with the answers we were looking for, whereas other approaches proved more helpful. In particular the source critical method, which was keen to point out the differences and inconsistencies between the two accounts, claimed that these were due to the complex history of the text of the Pentateuch. We only had to identify the various layers of the text written by the Yahwist, the Elohist, the Priestly writer and a series of Deuteronomic writers and redactors and the whole thing would fall into place, the scales would fall from our eyes and we see all things clearly.

Sadly this enterprise proved to be less simple than promised. Although what the critics had to say was almost always of great interest and stimulating to read, identifying which passage belonged to which tradition or writer was not obvious as was hoped, and relative dates of the traditions and writers were equally unclear. More correctly we should say that the clarity claimed by one author was refuted by the next, and a century of endeavour enabled us only to see men as trees walking, rather than the promised clarity.

At the end of this we confessed to disillusionment with the source-critical method, and concluded that to study the text as it now stands was the most profitable way forward. If there were inconsistencies, repetitions, discontinuities and other alleged rough places, we decided to take the view that the writer or final editor must have thought the text as it now stands was the best text, and in this case we considered we would learn most by taking it we found it.

It was useful to consider what kind of text we were reading, and in our particular case this did not present many problems. The narrative style of the Exodus account of the golden calf incident is fairly obvious, but it was worthwhile noting, for example, that the golden calf incident in Exodus is just one of a series of rebellion stories. Similarly it was not difficult to identify the fact that the text in Deuteronomy is part of a long address by Moses to the people, though it is true that someone might think at times that this was the author of the book speaking, particularly if the reader merely "dips into" Deuteronomy without starting at the beginning and reading right through the book. But our study of the genre of the two accounts only went a short distance. It told us what kind of text we were about to read, it did not spell out what the specific content of the text was.

Our studies in discourse analysis were of interest, but we have to confess that in relation to the labour involved, its results were somewhat meagre. We gained insights into the structure of the passages, but the fact that the one text was narrative discourse and the other hortatory we already knew from our genre studies. Various claims made by discourse analysts were not conclusively proved, such as a constant relationship between the relative importance of a particular clause and its place in the structure of a paragraph. It appears to us that a small aside, which seems like a small supplementary piece of information thrown in as additional interest, might be a key fact on which a whole narrative might turn.

In our study of the theological *Tendenz* of the two accounts we chose the text in its final form as a subject for our studies. First of all we found that the differences between the two texts could be very well explained by the different theological interests and emphases of the two books in which the accounts appear. A second and perhaps more significant point, was that when we concentrated on the theological content of Exodus and Deuteronomy texts, we found that these were not moribund, ancient texts of only academic interest, with no relationship to any religion now being practised. Instead, the story in Exodus had a meaning which was greater than the immediate period or culture in which it appeared. Within the text lies a message. As in so much of the Old Testament, the writer has an agenda. He wants to change human behaviour. Disobedience to moral laws, lack of faith, outright rebellion and false leadership are not only found in ancient Israel, but can be seen in every society.

Exodus also teaches the reader about the God of the Old Testament, and we find that he is not so very different from the God of the New Testament. In the midst of failure we find that Yahweh is

> A God merciful and gracious, slow to anger,
> Abounding in steadfast love and faithfulness ...

In Deuteronomy, the reader is more directly addressed. Moses sets out for the Israelites on the plains of Moab what they must do, and not do, if they are to enter into God's promises. Today's reader can also learn that God is faithful, and that he is also looking for his people to be faithful.

To concentrate on the theological issues raised in these texts proved not only to explain textual differences between two parallel texts in a satisfactory manner, but also to be a useful and fruitful method of approaching the text in a more general sense. It was rewarding to find that in adopting this way of reading of the text the interests of the academic student of the Pentateuch could be seen to be closer to those of the general reader and members of the wider Christian community. In this case we found that when

the academic study of the Old Testament concentrates on the theological aspects of the text, rather the peripheral issues of textual history, dating and linguistic analysis, it is no longer isolated in its own academic world, talking mainly to itself and it fellow scholars. Instead it fulfils a more profitable role of providing material which can be of use to the whole Christian community.

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